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ABBREVIATIONS.

a. = adjective	ff. = and the following
adv. = adverb	* before a word means that the word or form is not really existing, but hypothetical
A. E. S. = The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; vide "Arabum Quoad"	- standing between two nouns designates the first of the two as a singular, the second as a plural, e. g. ádjɨ-ódjɨr means: ádjɨ is the singular, ódjɨr the plural
interr. = interrogative	(means: is derived from
n. = noun, also verbal noun	) means: changes into.
prep. = preposition	
rel. = relative	
v. = verb	
v. a. = verb active	
v. n. = verb neuter	
verb. n. = verbal noun	

[194] The verb in the present tense has generally low tone on both syllables, therefore the tones are not designated in this case.

197 Names of Languages and Dialects abbreviated.

Al. = Alur	Jo. = Jur
Any. = Anywak	Lo. = Lango
Ba. = Bari	Ma. = Moha
Bo. = Bongo	Mo. = Moro
Di. = Dinka	N. = Nuer
E. = Ewe	Nu. = Nupe
El. = Elli	Shi. = Shilluk
G. = Ga	T. = Twi
Ga. = Ganj	Y. = Yoruba
	V. = Vai

Ja. = Ja-Luo (Nyiloa).

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174 slave?' Connecting with this word the same notion of pride, as one in England
101 would say: 'Do you not know I am a peer of the kingdom?' All titles and offices are not respected, if they are not in the hands of a man who is a slave. Slavery is in Sennar the only true nobility'. This subversion of social ranks becomes intelligible, if we assume a state of facts as suggested above, viz. that the Shilluks, and perhaps also, in a limited number, the Nubians, who lived in the country as a kind of military caste and still were designated as slaves, had in fact become the ruling race. They may even at times have possessed the throne, as the name of one of the Funj kings indicates: Gaadi Abu Shilluk. — Thus we understand also the report of the executioner from whom Bruce got his information: he was a descendant of the Shilluk immigrants, and considering the position the latter held at that time, he was not wrong in saying the Funj were originally Shillooks. The same is to be said of the Nubian priests, who claimed for their home the region of the Elîri mountains. 9. The present language of the Funj, of which Marno gives some 150 words, is not identical with the Shilluk language, but it shows unmistakable signs of a connection with the latter, a number of words being common to both, notably

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Funj.	Shilluk.
bunj Arab	*bunu* stranger, Arab
dhîin ear	*lit* white ear
kumur to eat	*ckâmg* to eat
ami hippo	*ami* crocodile
kâ girdle	*kpî* game
jok God	*jwgk* God
kpîn star	*kpîg* star
mûm dumb	*mûn* dumb
kaj on to-day	*kank* on this time
ko-mog spear	*tpî* spear
kun stick	*kâ, kg* stick, club.

Thus out of a number of about 150 Funj words given by Marno 11 are Shilluk words; and, what is remarkable, these eleven words the Funj has *not* in common with its neighbouring languages Tabi and Berta, they can therefore not be borrowed from these languages.

175 In 1786 the kingdom of the Funj totally disappeared. King Adlan was deposed by the Hamag (Hamej), a tribe living south of Roseires. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country, and the kings succeeded each other in such rapid succession that in the year 1788 four kings successively reigned. During the succeeding 33 years of anarchy the Hamag continued supreme, and under Shaikh Nasser they devastated the northern and eastern part of the Sudan with

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193 194 *i* and *ɛ* change in: *ríiɛ* to run; past *a rɛ́*.

ɛ and *ɯ*, *u* change in: *ɣɯɣ* and *ɣuɣ* to tattoo, *rjɯɛ* and *ríuɛ* to meet
bɔ̀ɲɔ̀ɟ-bɔ̀ɔ̀ɟ hedgehog *mɯɣɛ-mɯ̀ɟ* bear *kɯɔ̀-kuɔ̀ɟ* axe.
vice versa: *kudɛ* to pull out, past *kɯ́a*, *fudɛ* | to pull
ɔudɛ to cut, past *ɔ́ɔa* *fuɛ* | out
lùɣɛ to turn past *lùɣí*; *ruu-oruu* nose.

e and *ɛ* change in: *dèɔ́è-cèjɔ̀j* a knife *ekɔ̀r-ekjɔ̀r* vulture
lɔ̀r-lɔ̀jr boil; and: *took-tɔɔk* gun; this last example suggests that *e* was changed into *ɛ* by an inserted *a*.

o and *u* change in: *kɔ̀dɛ* to fasten a. *kɔ̀dɔ̀j*; *cludɛ* and *clɔ̀lɛ* to avenge,
kuso and *kɔ̀ɟɛ* to blow up.

193 194 197 The vowels *ɛ* and *ɛ* can in many cases be shown to be not primitive.

ɛ ⟨ *a*.

lɛ̀k tooth	Any.	*lak*		*wɛ̀jɛ* to travel	Ba.	*wala*
kɔwɛ gourd	Ju.	*kuwo*		*kɔɛ̀k* bitter, sharp	Nu.	*kɔyol* *kɔyol* sharp
ɔwɛɛ̀k smell	Any.	*ɔwɔl*				
nɔwɛ to sleep	Nu.	*nalu*		*nɛ̀wɔ* to see	Nu.	*nalɔ*
kwɛ bread	Ju.	*kwɛ*	Nr. *kwɛ*,	Bo. *kɔ̀* *nɛ̀jɛ́ɛ* mouth	Nr.	*ɔwɔn*
kyɛ́ horse	Ju.	*ahaja*	Ga. *kaba*;	(*chwe* fat	Nr.	*chwa()*
ɔ́wɛɛ four	Nr.	*ɔ́wɔ̀n*		*ɛ́yɛ́* metal	Ju.	*gaba*.

In these words the form with *a* is doubtless the older one; in Shi. *a* has, from reasons not known, changed into *ɛ* (or *e*).

ɛ ⟨ *ia*.

pɟ̀k to be heavy	Any. *pyal*	
ɟ̀k to be hard	Dl. *tyak (tyɛk?)*	Bo. *tigo*
pɟ̀cɛ̀, *pyɟ̀cɛ̀* to ask	Ba. *pija*	
rjɯɛ blood, Ba. *rima*,	Bo. *trama*,	Nr. *ryɯn*.

These words have originally the vowels *ia*, of which *i* probably is the oldest; see Bo. *tigo* and Ba. *pija*, *rima*, here the second vowel, *a*, is not yet added. When *a* was suffixed, the first vowel, *i*, became unsyllabic, that is, it turned into *y*; this form is preserved in *pyak*; *a* was then assimilated to *i (y)* and thus turned into *ɛ*: *tyɛk*, *pyɟ̀cɛ̀*, *ryɯn*; finally in Shi. the *y* was absorbed wholly by *ɛ*, and *j* remained; but, as the examples show, in many words both forms, *j* and *yɛ*, are still existing.

ɛ ⟨ *ua* or *ɯa*.

w or *u* preceding an *a* has often assimilated the *a*, so it became *ɛ*; in certain cases the *u* or *w* has then been wholly absorbed by *ɛ*, so that *ua*, *ɯa* ⟩ *ɯɛ* ⟩ *ɛ*.

Compare the following examples:

wá and *wɛ́* we; *wá* is the primitive, *wɛ* the influenced form; likewise: *ɣwɔ̀ɔɛ*

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and *ŋwŋ́ŋ* to scratch, *ɛ́ɛ́ŋ* to cut, *ɛ́ɛ́ŋ* to butcher, *ɛ́ŋɛ́ŋ* to cut.

ŋ́ to die	Ba. *tuun*		*ŋ́ŋɛ́ŋ* to dive	Di. *ruuné*			
ŋwŋ́ŋɛ́ŋ to cry	Ga. *yuuk*		*ɛ́ɛ́ŋɛ́ŋ* to wash	Nr. *ɛɛk*	Ba. *ɛɛlɛɛn*		
ɛ́ŋɛ́ŋ afternoon	Ga. *ɛɛwɛɛr*		*ŋ́ŋɛ́ŋ* thirst	Ga. *ɛɛruur*	Ja. *ɛɛyɛɛn*		
ɛɛwɛ́ɛ́ maize	Any. *ɛɛwɛɛk*		*ɛɛɛ́ɛ́ŋ* to bear, beget	Ga. *ɛɛmɛɛn*			
ɛɛɛ́ɛ́ŋ cotton	Ga. *ɛɛwɛɛr*						
ɛ́ŋɛ́ŋ to beat	Any. *ɛɛwɛɛ*	Ba. *ɛɛbɛ*	*ɛ́ɛ́ŋ* what	Nr. *ɛɛn*,	Di. *ɛɛɛ*		
ɛɛwɛɛr man	Ga. *ɛɛwɛɛ*	Nr. *ɛɛwɛ*	*ɛɛ* road *ɛɛ tɛɛk* narrow road				
ɛɛwŋ́ŋ to call	Nr. *ɛɛwɛ́*		*ɛɛwŋ́ɛ́* fox	Nr. *ɛɛwɛɛk*.			

In these words *ɛ* is evidently an original *a*; in Shi. the *a* has in all cases been assimilated by the preceding *ɛ* or *ɛ*, while in other languages the primitive *a* is preserved. In Shi. *ɛ́ɛ́ŋ* "to cut", the vowel, *a*, is not yet added; in *ɛ́ɛ́ŋ* "to butcher", the suffixed *a* has dropped the *ɛ*; here is no assimilation, but simply the elision of *ɛ*; whereas in *ɛ́ŋɛ́ŋ* both vowels are contracted to one; an analogous case is *ɛ́ɛ́ŋ* what; the primitive vowel is *ɛ*: Nr. *ɛɛn* what; later an *a* was added; before this *a* the primitive vowel *ɛ* dropped in Di.: *ɛɛɛ* what; in Shi. both vowels were first assimilated and then contracted: *ɛ́ŋ* (the beginning *ɛ* does not belong to the stem, see 124) what. Note also *ɛɛ* road, but *ɛɛ tɛɛk* narrow road, and *ɛɛ Fɛ́ŋɛ́* the way to F., from original *ɛɛ*; this older form is preserved in connections of the word with a determinative; later an *a* was added, which united with *ɛ* to *ɛ*.

Compare also the following words:

ɛɛwŋ́ŋ roan antelope		Ja. *ɛɛwɛɛr*
ɛɛɛ́ŋ wind		Ga. *ɛɛmɛɛ*
ɛɛɛ́ɛ́ blossom		Di. *ɛɛɛ́*.

These either have the same origin as the examples given above, the *ɛ*, *a* having been dropped in both respective languages, or the original vowel is simply *a*, which, for reasons unknown, has become *ɛ* in Shi.

It is of course probable that, in analogy with the development shown above, many, if not all, words with *wŋ*, *yɛ*, and perhaps also those with *ɛ*, *ɛ* had the original vowel *a*, or *ɛa*, *ia*, though this *a* may no more be visible now in any of the related languages.

Some of these words show that the first of the two vowels *(ia, ɛa)* was *i*, *ɛ*, and that the *a* was added later; compare *ɛɛɛ́ŋ*, *ɛɛɛ́ŋ*, *ɛ́ŋɛ́ŋ*; and *ɛɛɛ́ŋ* geese, Di. *ɛɛmɛ́ (ɛɛŋɛ́?)*, Nr. *ɛɛŋɛ́*; *ɛɛɛ́ŋ* and *ɛɛɛ́ŋ* are the oldest forms; then *a* was suffixed, see above; in Nr. *ɛɛŋɛ́*, *ɛɛ* became *wŋ* > *wŋ*, whereas in Shi. *ɛɛɛ́ŋ* was preserved, no second vowel being added here.

If *a* is a secondary vowel, it must of course have been added for a certain purpose, by adding it the meaning of the word must undergo a change; this is

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the case in *dwiŋ* to cut and *tiŋ* to butcher. For more examples of the addition of a second vowel see 70.

A good example for *u* being dropped altogether in Shi. is this: *wiŋŋ* to catch, Ga. *mɔkɔ*, Ba. *mɔk*, Di. *muŋi* ⟨ **mɔɔ ur* **mɔɔn*.

A different evolution here

ɲuŋŋ male, Di. *wɔn*; *chiŋiŋ* to heap up, assemble, Di. *ɔcɔkɔ*. Here again the primitive vowel is *o*, as is evident from *ɔcɔkɔ*; now an *u* — in Di. preserved as *u* — was prefixed to the stem, and in Shi. was received into the stem, as *ɔcɔkɔ* ⟩ *chuŋi*, *wɔn* ⟩ *ɲuŋŋ*. See also the formation of the passive 173 *m*.

So we have two forms of adding a second vowel to the stem:

a) consonant + vowel + vowel: *t* + *u* + *a* ⟩ *tua*, *tuŋ*, *tɔ*;

b) vowel + consonant + vowel: *u* + *t* + *a* ⟩ *uta*, *tua*, *tuŋ*, *tɔ*.

Assimilation of Vowels.

Some assimilations are treated above: *ia* ⟩ *ie*, *yi*; *ua* ⟩ *uɔ*, *uɔ*. Others are: *wiɔk* head and *wuɔk*; *wiŋ* to arrive, and *wuŋ*: *i* has been assimilated by the preceding *u* and thus become *u*;

ɲa ŋ "I shall" is often pronounced *ɲɔ ŋ*, *ɲɛ ŋ*;

bɔŋiɛ "there is not", and *biŋiɛ*;

bɔ "not to be", and *bɔŋɔ* "there is not" ⟨ *bɔ* + *ŋɔ*;

yiŋŋ to become, and *ɲuŋŋ*;

ŋɔŋ foot, *ŋɔlo* my foot;

kimɔ it is, and *kiŋɔ*;

kí ŋ "with its body" becomes *kŋ ŋ*;

yí ró why you, but *ŋ ró*, why he;

kí "and", but: *wí kí kiŋ* you and the smith: *í* is assimilated to the preceding *u*. *ún* this, *ɲí* that; as *í* has been affixed to *ɛn*, and has turned the *ɛ* to *ɔ*. (Note the change of tone in this last example: the low tone designates the nearer, the high tone the farther distance).

Contraction and Elision of Vowels.

Some have been shown above: *ia* ⟩ *ɲɔ*, *ɲɛ* ⟩ *ɛ*; *ua* ⟩ *uɔ*, *uŋ* ⟩ *ŋ*. Others are:

yí ŋ "you will" ⟩ *yŋ*. *wí ɲɔ* his mother ⟩ *wɔɲɔ*. *wí ɲɛ* his father ⟩ *wɔɲɛ*.

Where two vowels of different words meet together, generally one is dropped:

kwɔ̀ŋ ɔ my grandfather ⟩ *kwɔ̀ɔ*.

kwɔ̀ŋ í thy grandfather ⟩ *kwɔ̀ɔ́*, and likewise all these connections.

ɔ́ɔcɔkí ɔ́k these rabbits ⟩ *ɔ́ɔcɔ́k ɔ́k*.

yí ɲuŋŋ kiŋ what are you doing ⟩ *yí ɲuŋ́ ŋ́*?

yí kíŋ ɔ́k what do you say ⟩ *yí kíŋ́ ɔ́ḱ*, or: *yí kí ɔ́ḱ*?

In the nasalisation of final consonants a final vowel is dropped: *ɲiɲɛ chief* ⟩ *ɲíɲ́*; see 127.

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Change of Semivowels.

In forming the singular and plural of nouns and the tenses of verbs, frequent changes of semivowels are to be observed. As is said above, the semivowels within a word are probably original vowels, *w* < *u*, *y* < *i*. In many of these cases where the *u* or *i* had a high tone, it has not become a semivowel, but has retained its original form. If the *u*, *i* with a high tone did become a semivowel, its tone was transferred to the following vowel; it is sometimes difficult to decide whether one ought to write *uj* or *uj́*.

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A few examples of the changes may be given here; for more see 124 ff.

y and *wy*: *pjɔ́ɔ* to work passive *pwjɔ́* *kjɔ́ŋ* to speak passive *kwjɔ*
dyudʒí-dyɔ́dʒí jackal *dyɔ́ɔ́ɔ-dyɔ́ŋ* cock
kjɔ́ŋ and *kwjɔ́ŋ* to drive *ɔbwjɔ́-ɔkjɔ́* corral.
vice versa: *mɔ́ɔ́-mwɔ́ɔ́* dog-headed fish.
o and *wo*: *kɔ́ŋ* and *kwɔ́ŋ* to help *dwŋ* and *dwoŋ* to spit.
vice versa: *kwɔ́n-kɔ́r* shield.
wy, *wo* and *wɔ*, *wo*: *swɔ́ŋ*, *swoŋ* and *swŋ* to show.

The vowel *o* has been preserved in:
kɔ́jɔ́ŋ to taste, past *a kwjɔ́o*; *kwɔ́jɔ* to sow, *n. kɔ́jɔ́*.
swɔ́ŋ to kneel, *n. sɔ́jɔ́*;
gwɔ́k-gɔ́ɔ́k dog; *kwɔ́m-kɔ́ɔ́m* chair; *tɔ́jɔ* and *tɔ́jɔ́* to tie.

Changes between *y* and *jy*:
pjɔ́ɔ and *pyjɔ́ɔ* to build; *kjɔ́ŋ* and *kyjɔ́ŋ* to dig
fyjɔ́-fjɔ́ back-bone; *ɔjɔ́ɔ* to let the milk down, *ɔyjɔ́ɔ* to milk.

The vowel *i* has been preserved in:
pjɔ́ɔ to sacrifice, and *pjɔ́ɔ́*; *ɔkjɔ́-ɔkjɔ́k* reed
kpwɔ́-kjɔ́k elephant; *kyɔ́ŋ* to refuse, *n. kjɔ́ɔ́*.

y < *w*:

pɔ́ soul	Di. *wɔ́*	*pwɔ́ŋ* and *pyjɔ́ŋ* ring			
pyjɔ́ɔ fowl	Any. *pwɔ́ɔ*	*kyɔ́ŋ* to refuse	Ga. *kwɔ*		
kjɔ́ŋ to save	Nr. *kwjɔ́*	*fyɔ́ɔ* heart	Di. *pwɔ*		
kpɔ́ɔ horse	Any. *ɔkwɔ́ɔ*.				

In most of these words the cause of *w* being transformed into *y* may be the following vowel *ɔ*, *ɔ*, which, being palatal, assimilated *w* into the palatal *y*.

Elision of an original *w*:
wɔ́ŋ and *ŋɔ* to send, *ŋɔ́* relative by marriage Ga. *wɔ*.

kɔ́ war	Ga. *kwɔ́*	Ju. *kwɔ́*	*ʃɔ́* people	Ba. *pwɔ*	
dʒɔ́ skin	Ga. *ɔdwɔ́*		*tɔ́ɔ́* egg	Nr. *twɔ́*	
dʒɔ́ŋ mouth	Nr. *dwɔ́ɔ*		*mɔ́ŋɔ* to catch	Di. *mwɔ́*	

dʒɔ́ŋ is probably < **dʒwɔ́ɔ* < **dwɔ́ɔ* < **dwɔ́ɔ*.

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In many of these examples it is to be noted that often a vowel preceded by a semivowel is short, but when the same word appears without a semivowel, the vowel is long: the quantity of the semivowel is added to that of the vowel.

Elision of *y*: ŋjo and ŋo ho.

Change between *w*, *y* and *r*. — Though *r* is not a semivowel, it is to be treated here.

In a considerable number of words these three sounds may be interchanged at will. Compare what is said of the nature of *y* in 9. *y* and *w* are closely related (they are interchanged in just the same way in Ewe); now the friction which is produced in forming *y* is, by some individuals, transferred from the back-mouth to the point of the tongue, the velar friction becoming a lingual one, that is, instead of *y* an *r* is pronounced.

wɔŋ, ɣɔ, rwɔŋ house	wiŋ, ɣiŋ and riŋ to finish
wiŋ, ɣiŋ and riŋ to cover	wiŋ, ɣiŋ and riŋ to carry water
ɣiŋ and riŋ fish	wir and rir kings
we, wɛ, we, Dt. ɣe	ɣiŋ and riŋ to shoot.

y does not stand before *i*, *e*, and seldom before *a*; here *w* takes its place: wɛŋ ɣiŋ-wɛnɛ see; wɛ̀ and wɛ̀ a season, ɣiŋ and wiŋ to pound.

In ɣiŋ-wiŋ the change from *y* to *w* has caused a change from *e* to *o*.

Change between *y* and *j*:

ɣi and jin he;		yè I	Dt. ye.

y sometimes corresponds to *j* in Nr. and *Any.*:

ɣen I	Nr. jen	ɣaŋ true	Nr. jaŋ
ɣin you	Nr. jin	ɣiŋ tail	Nr. jiŋ
ɣɛ read	*Any.* jɛ	ɣiŋwu wind	*Any.* jiŋwu
ɣuŋkin to cry	*Any.* juŋkiŋ and juŋ.		

Here probably *j* is the older sound; compare the analogous case, where in Shi. a *j* turns into *y*: 46.

When a noun ending in *o* receives a vowel-suffix, a *w* is inserted between both; thu lion thuwi lions; or, if *w* is part of a diphthong, it becomes *w*: ɣiwu heart, ɣiwui my heart; see 135.

Change of Consonants.

Interchange.

Some consonants may be interchanged at will, one individual preferring the one, another the other consonant; often the same individual in the same words now uses the one, a little while later the other consonant. The younger generation of the people, and chiefly all strangers speaking the language, prefer the fricative sounds.

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These consonants are:

ch and *ch* *ɸ* and *ʂ* *t* and *ɾ* *p* and *f* or *ff*.

According to the general laws of evolution in African languages, *ch t ɸ p* are to be regarded as the *older*, *ch ʂ ɾ* and *f ff* as the *younger* sounds. — *t* never changes with its corresponding sound, which would be *s*; the natives are not able, unless expressly taught, to pronounce an *s*.

Assimilation.

The consonants *k ch t ɸ p*, *when standing at the end of a word*, can be pronounced in two ways. They are voiceless, that is a real *k ch t ɸ p* is to be pronounced, *if* 1. the word stands alone or at the end of a sentence; 2. *if* it is followed by a voiceless consonant. They are voiced, that is, they are to be pronounced *g j d ð b* 1. *if* they are followed by a voiced consonant, 2. *if* they are followed by a vowel (an exception to this rule see 139 and 143). *But these consonants are always written voiceless.* This rule is suggested merely by practical regards: it would, for instance in school-practice, be troublesome, to write the same word with different sounds.

Real pronunciation	Usual writing	
ɟoŋ jol	*ɟok jol*	the cattle of the man
ɟok Ojɔ	*ɟok Ojɔ*	the cattle of the people
ɲiɟ lɔkɔ	*ɲiɟ lɔkɔ*	the king of the people
ɲiɟ ðí	*ɲiɟ ðí*	the king died
kuɟ ɔbuɔ	*kuŋɔ ɔbuɔ*	the talk of the stranger
kuŋɔ Ojɔ	*kuŋɔ Ojɔ*	the talk of the people.

If one consonant of a word is interdental, the rest of the consonants in the same word, *if t, d or n*, become in most cases likewise interdental:

ɟiŋ man, *ɟiɟiŋ* to make straight, *ɟiɟin* hot season, *ɟiɟe* to suck, *ɟuɟe* to rise, *ɟeɟɛl* a pole for pulling boats; in some connections even the consonant of another word may become interdental: *ɲaŋ* tree, *daɲi* large, *ɲaŋ ɟaɲi* a large tree; between *ŋ* and *ɟ* the tongue does not change its position. But observe: *ɟo ŋiŋ* heel, literally "base of the foot", here each of the two words is still felt as independent, therefore no assimilation takes place.

Assimilation is also to be observed in the *law of nasalization*:

k + *n* > *ŋ*	*ch* + *n* > *ɲ*
t + *n* > *n*	*ɾ* + *n* > *n*
p + *n* > *m*	*ɸ* + *n* > *ŋ*
j + *n* > *ɲ*	*ɟ* + *n* > *n*
ð + *n* > *n*	*b* + *n* > *m*

Examples see 140.

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c) a static consonant is sometimes dropped:
ɟɔk cattle, *ɟɔ rɨ̈ɟ* cattle of the king
ɲɔɔk village *ɲɔ rɨ̈ɟ* village of the king
kat wɔw ko ɟɔl wɔw of the man.
d) *ch* turns into *y*, that is, an unsyllable *i*:
wiok kɔnd wiy ɲɔw kɔnd of the table
ɲɔɔk middle ɲay wɔw middle of the river.

Changes of single consonants.

k. An original *k* is dropped in:

wɔ, wɨ we	Nr. *ŋgɔ* ⟨ **kwɔ*		*wany* shoe	Bo. *kwari*	
wiiŋ bird	Bo. *kwɔ*		*wiiy* spider	Bo. *kwiiki*	
wɔw river	Ju. *kwɔ*		*wiiny* to cover	and *kiiny* ⟨ **kwiiny*.	

The opposite state is in:
kwiiny cotton Ga. *wuro* *kiiny* to pour out Ga. *wie* ⟨ **kwiiy*.
Perhaps the primitive state in all these words is a beginning *kw*.
An original *k* has turned into *ch* in
chiiy to walk Di. *kat*, *kwɔt* *kɨ̈t* bitter Nu. *kɨgɨ*, stem **kɨ̈t*
kwɔch leopard Bo. *kɨgɨn*, Ba. *kɨbɔ*.
An original *k* has turned into *t* in *chiit* hat, Di. *chiik*, Ga. *chii*; here *k* ⟩ *ch* ⟩ *t*, *k* being the oldest, *t* the youngest form.
ɲ. A primitive *ɲ* has turned into *j*:
jɨ people, Ba. *ɲɔnɔ wiɔ*.
ch. *ch* has become *y* in connections described in 127.
j. *j* has become *y* in *wiiy* east, and *wɨ̈t* (*wiy*).
t d, and *ɟ ɟ*.
1. At the beginning of a word; *t* ⟩ *r*.
rɨ̈ny blood Bo. *tɔnɔ* *rɨ̈ny* and *ɟɨ̈ny* to fetch water, Ga. *tɔnnɔ*.
t ⟩ *r*: *ɟany* and *runy* to finish.
2. Within or at the end of a word.
t ⟩ *r*: *dwaiy* and *dwɔry* to wish, *tyɨ̈ɟ* and *ɟɨ̈ry* to carry; *ɟɨ̈r* and *ɟɨ̈t* corner.
t, d ⟩ *l*: *kiiɟ* and *kiiɟl* to throw *kwiiy* and *kwiiɟ* to steal

kwɔɟɨ to drive	past *kwɔlɔ*		*ɟiiɟ* to shave	and *ɟyiiɟ*	
ɲɨ̈ɟ to spit	past *ɲɨ̈l*		*yɨ̈ɟɨ* to curse	and *yɨ̈lɨ*	
ɟɨ̈ɟɨ to scratch	past *ɟɨ̈l*		*ɟwiiɟ* to wink with the lips, *ɟwiiɟɨ* to wink.		

ɟ ɟ ⟩ *r*: *ɟiiɟ* to laugh, n. *ɨyɨ̈r*) *yiiɟɨ* to eat, past *a yiir*
rɨ̈ɟ king pl. *rɨ̈r*, *ɔɔɟ* and *ɨyɨ̈r* womb
riiɟɨ thirst Ga. *ormor*
wɨ̈ɟ steer, but *wɨ̈r ɟɨ̈ɟ*, and *wɨ̈r nɔw tɔɔ* a certain kind of steer.

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Concerning *t*) *r* (and *ŧ*) *rr*) it may be remarked that in Nr. a final *r* is followed by a strong lisping sound, which sometimes turns into a rolled *r*, and thus makes the *r* disappear altogether. In the same way *t* may have become *r* in Shi., the *tr* in Bo. meaning an intermediate stage between *t* and *r*.

ŧ) *l*: *ŧiŧi* to cook, *pat ŧil* ship to change, *pat wiŧo*.

More examples for these changes are to be seen in 181; there also the functions of some of the changes are described. The changes of consonants into the corresponding nasal sounds are treated in 140.

The changes of *t d, ŧ đ* to *t. r, l*, and *j. n* are doubtless to be traced back to different causes. — Observe also that *t ŧ* at the beginning of a word change into *r* only, in the middle or end of a word they may change to *r* or to *l*.

INTONATION.

As in other Sudan languages, the intonation is an important and essential part in Shilluk grammar. Without paying close attention to it, it is not possible to master the language. Intonation is not to be confounded with accentuation, which means the stress laid on a particular syllable or word. Intonation means exclusively the highness or lowness of a syllable compared with other syllables. Each syllable has its own tone, which cannot, as is the case in European languages, be changed at will, but is altered only under certain conditions.

The tone can lie on vowels, and on consonants which have the function of vowels: *p m j r*. If in diphthongs only the first vowel has a tone-mark, it is understood that the second vowel has the same tone.

The Shi. has three original tones: a high tone, marked thus: *á*, a low tone: *à*, and a middle tone: *a*. Two tones, and in some cases even three, may combine on one syllable. Generally it is the high and the low tone, which unite on one syllable; so we have the combinations low-high *â* (rising tone) and high-low *ǎ* (falling tone). In the first case the vowel begins with a low tone and then rises; in *ǎ* it is the reverse: at first a high tone, which is lowered at the close of the sound. According to my observation in both cases the high tone is of longer duration than the low, and it seems to me that a particular stress lies on it (see below).

There are also combinations of the high and middle tone *á*, these are fairly frequent, while I have not met with a middle and high tone. One example of three tones on one syllable is given below.

The rising and the falling tone generally occur on syllables with a long vowel, but they are also met with on short vowels, just the falling tone often does so.

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cause a high tone precedes the rising one, the tones are like this: ⌐¬ mark the difference between "cook" and "house"); *ɲíí* a water-pot, *yí rwɛ̀l*, *Dɛ̀ɛ̀* a proper name.

Falling tone: ɛ̂ *dɛ̂* he is absent, *dɛ̂* is hard. When a high tone is followed by a low tone in the following syllable, the high tone itself sometimes is lowered at its end, so that instead of **dɛ́ɛ̀*, sometimes **dɛ̀ɛ̀* is heard.

High and middle tone: dwɔ́n when? *wí lɛ́ mɔ́n yɔ́* and who? *ɛ́ yɔ́*.

High-low-high tone: dɛ̀ɛ̀ dowry.

In the texts and dictionary the high-middle tone is generally rendered by high-low tone.

Examples of words which have the same sounds but different tones:

dwɔ́ŋ cock	*dwɔŋ* kyrie	*ɲɔ́* hot season	*ɲɔ́* a small lizard
lɛ̀ɛ̀ŋ sekhak-tree	*lɛɛ̀ŋ* to spread the night	*wɛ́* which	*wɛ̀* meat
		mɔ́ɔ grass	*mɔɔ* because
lɛ́ɛ skin	*lɛɛ* spindle	*ɲɔ́ɔ́* a fish	*ɲɔɔ́* sweet
ɲɔ́ɔ flint-stone	*ɲɔɔ* to be smooth	*wɛ́ɛ́* year	*wɛɛ́* eye.

Not such words are not nearly so frequent here as they are in western Sudan languages; this is so chiefly from three causes:

1. the words consisting of only one consonant and one vowel, which prevail in the western Sudan, are not numerous in the eastern languages, these last having augmented the primitive stem by prefixes and chiefly by suffixes; see 63. These additions were in most cases a sufficient means for distinguishing the stems from each other, thus the distinction by tone became in many words superfluous, and consequently disappeared, or was maintained.
2. In the eastern languages, at least in some of them, the tone developed into quite a different function, which the western Sudan languages do not have. Here the tone is exclusively *etymological*, that is two or more words which have the same sounds but are of quite different etymology, are distinguished from each other by different tones. In the eastern languages this function is also preserved, but it is almost being suppressed by the *grammatical* function of the tone, that is, *grammatical categories are expressed by difference of tone*. Copious examples for this rule, which is a characteristic feature of the Shi., are given in 122 m.

A few illustrations will suffice here:

a) singular and plural by different tones:

hyɛ́ɛ pl. *hyɛ̀ɛ* horse		*dìì* pl. *dɪ̀ɪ̀* pot
hyɛ̀ɛ̀ŋ pl. *hyɛ̀ɛ̀l* dove		*jìɔ̀k* pl. *jìɔ̀k* shoulder
lɪ̀ɪ pl. *lɪ̀ɪ* net		*dɪ̀jɔ̀* pl. *dɪ̀jɔ̀* ford
ɲìì pl. *ɲìì* mouth		*ɛlìì* pl. *ɛlìì* somersault.

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b) the vocative always receives high tone on the last syllable:
ŋâŋ smith, but in addressing: *ŋâŋí!* o smith!
mâŋá mother, but in addressing: *mâŋá!* o mother!
ámó man, but in addressing: *ámó!* o man!
Dák a proper-name, but in addressing: *Dákí!* o Dak!

c) The personal pronouns have high tone; see 130. Note also the mentioned tone in the possessive pronouns and the numerals, 134, 135.

d) the tenses and modes of the verb are distinguished by tone:
to eat: present active *chíwá*, passive *chíw*, verbal noun: *chíw*
to work: present active *pîpá*, passive *puŋâ*, verbal noun: *puŋâ*.

3. Into the Shi. the accentuation or stress (the dynamic tone) has, probably by hamitic influence, been introduced, and it is often difficult to distinguish intonation from accentuation. This is not so much the case in single words, but in groups of words, in which stress is laid on a particular word; generally this is a word with high tone, so that high tone and stress unite on the same word or syllable; and on the other hand, a stress falling on a low tone, raises the tone of the syllable.

Change of Tones.

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The intonation is in Shi. not of that regularity which is found in the western Sudan languages. Though most changes obey fixed laws, yet many seem rather arbitrary, and I have sometimes met with the baffling fact that a word or a connection of words were, at different times, pronounced with different tones. Generally a word, when pronounced single, has its fixed tone, but in connection with other words the intonation changes very strongly, adapting itself to or contrasting with, its neighborhood (*rhythmical tone*).

Most of the changes may be classified under two headings, viz. assimilations and dissimilations.

Assimilation of Tones.

pîl pl. *pîl* ear; but *pîl lyaa* ears of the horse
ákâŋá pl. *ákâŋá* flower, but *ákâŋá pat* blossoms of the tree
ákâp pl. *ákâp* bag; but *ákâpí ámó* the bags of the man.

In all these words the plural has low tone; but in connecting the words with a genitive, a high-toned *í* is added; the high tone of this *í* causes the preceding syllable to become also high.

pâlâk dogs *á my*, *pâlâkí my* dogs; this is analogous to the preceding examples.
kê "and", *í* "he", *kì* "said" but connected: *kê í kì*.
yâ l pîpá work, *yâ pîpá* I am working; the low tone of *pîpá* causes the *â* of

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*193 quate form; it may be called the characteristic form of the word in Shl., about 90 % of all stems of the language having this form.

bit ear, *bâk* fence, *bât* a cow, *bâi* behind, *bar* long, *bath* bundle, *bel* spear, *bol* coast, *gal* fence, *kal* fence, *kag* rain, etc.

*193 *In my comparative study "Die Sudansprachen", I have shown the original word in Sudan to consist in one consonant and one vowel, all other elements in a word being later additions. As is seen under 2., this original form is no frequent in Shl., the standard form being here consonant + vowel + consonant. Accordingly those words ought to be demonstrated as having evolved from words with one consonant and one vowel only; the second consonant should be traced as a later element. That is, however, until now possible only in a small minority of cases. This may be explained from the fact that the eastern Sudan languages have, for a comparatively long time, had their own development, separate from that of the western languages, and under the influence of languages of different character.

I have found, however, a number of words which, being identical in their first consonant and vowel, and differing only in the second consonant, have the same or a similar meaning, which makes it probable that they are of one origin, and consisted originally in one consonant and one vowel, but differentiated their meaning by adding a second consonant. In some of the examples there is a semivowel between the first consonant and the vowel, which, according to 21, 22, has arisen from a vowel, so that here two vowels are to be supposed.

Examples.

bîjɛ to make a fence
bîjɛ to tie together
} < *bî

bîmɛ, *bîŋɛ* to make a mistake
bîjɛ to err
} < *bî

chîî it is finished
chîŋ it is finished
} < *chî

chwîjɛ to pierce
chwɛŋɛ to pierce
} < *chwɛ

pîjɛ to scratch, dig
pîŋɛ, *pwɛŋɛ* to scratch
pîjɛ to scratch
} < *pî

fîŋɛ to be sharp
fîŋ knife
} < *fî

fjɛkɛ, *fjɛjɛkɛ* to ask
fjwɛŋ to quinsy
fjɛkɛ to lie
} (*fjɛ, *fjɛc, with the supposed meaning of "to say"

fjɛɛ to be bruised
fjîjɛ to rub, brush
} < *fjî, fjɛɛ

pjɛkɛ to loosen
pjɛŋɛ to loosen
} < *pjɛ, pɛɛ

kîjɛ, *kîŋɛ* to ache, pain
kîjɛ to bite, ache, pain
} < *kî

kîjɛ to throw
kîjɛ to dash, clatter, split
} < *kî

kî to go
kîjɔ, *kɛkɛ* to go
} < *kî

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kiḍi to blow, *kiḍi* to blow } < *ki
kuḍi } pole < *kuu
kuḍi }
ki thief
kuḍi to steal } < *ku, kuu
kuḍi to take
kuḍi to take } < *kuu
kuuṇi to hurl
kuuḍi to drive, hurl } < *kuu
muuṇi to plaster
miḍi to plaster } < *mu, muu
mi because
mir because } < *mu
muu yesterday
muur-muu the day before yesterday } < muu

ṇiṇi to vomit } < *ṇuu
ṇuḍi, ṇuuḍi to spit
ṇiṇu, ṇiḍu spittle < *ṇi
ṭeṭiṇi } to thank < *ṭuu
ṭiṭiṇi }
ṇiṇi to string beads } < *ṇi
ṇiṇi to sew
ṇiṇi to pour out drop by drop } < *ṇi
ṇiṇi to strain beer
ṇiṇi to pick
ṇuuṇi to pick, gather, clean } < *ṇuu
miṇi to pull out } < *mi, mu.
muṇi to pull out

6. Consonant, semivowel, and vowel, which may again be followed by another augment.

These forms are also very frequent.

kuri granddaughter, *kuri* corpse, *kuut* shield, *guṇi* work, *kuṇi* talk, *kuuk* cow-house, *kuṇi* guard, *kuuk* leopard, *kuḍi* to steal, *kuuḍi* to embrace, *kuḍi* to swim; *ṇuṇi* to ask, *kuṇi* to refuse, *guṇu* fowl, *guḍi* foot, etc.

In 21, 22 I have, with the help of related languages, tried to show that in many, if not in all, cases the semivowel is to be traced to an original vowel, so that here also the primitive stem would be one consonant and one vowel. Compare:

kuḍi to cut
aḍi to lumber } < *ku + a
aḍi to cut

ki thief
kuḍi to steal } < *ku + a
kuḍi to swim
Nu. *kuḍo* to swim } < *ku + a.

For more examples see 69.

7. The forms 5 and 6 may have a vocalic suffix, which consists a) in the vowel *ŋ*; it is added to the verb in the present tense, and to the singular of many substantives.

giŋŋ to work, *kiḍŋ* to go; *ḍŋŋ* chief, *jiḍŋ* man, *ebuŋŋ* white man, *aḍiŋ* an ant, *kekuriŋ* loin-cloth, etc.

In certain words this *ŋ* may be pronounced or dropped at will: *ebuŋŋ* or *ebuṇi*, *jiḍŋ* or *jul*; moreover it is sounded so slightly, that one very often

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overhears it. — In the Nuer language *ɛ* is a suffixed demonstrative pronoun; it may originally have had the same meaning in Shi.

In the following cases a verb is formed from a noun by adding *ɛ*: *wiɛ̀* head, *wíjɛ* to make a roof ("a head") *lɛ̀t* urine, *líjɛ* to piss.

b) in the vowel *i*: *mom rìm* to curse, *rìmí* a curser; *mom rìlòm* to eat, *rìlòmí-rìlòmí* a bait; *mom pyj* to strike *pìjì-pìnìjì* word.

c) the plural-suffixes *ne*.

8. Words with prefixes.

The Shi. has two vocalic prefixes, *a* and *o*. In most cases these prefixes have a distinct function: *by prefixing a or o to a verb, the verb becomes a noun.* This is a law prevailing in very many Sudan languages, eastern as well as western. Examples.

ŋ̀ to have not — *àŋ̀* poor
rìŋ̀yɛ to compose a song — *ɔ̀rìnɔ̀* poet
rɔ̀ŋɛ to make straight, to aim — *ɔ̀rìjɔ̀n* straight
pìlɛ to bless — *ɔ̀pìlɛ̀* blessed
pwɔ̀ŋɛ to pick up — *ɔ̀pwɔ̀n* a bastard child (a child "picked up")
kɔ̀ŋ to branch off — *ɔ̀kɔ̀n* branch
kwɔ̀ŋɛ to winnow, *ɔ̀kwɔ̀n* husk
lùŋ to be turned upside down — *ɔ̀lùŋ* overwrath
mɛ̀ŋ (to be) slow — *ɔ̀mɛ̀ŋ* a stork
ŋ̀ŋɛ to kill — *ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ̀* spirit of a deceased person
kwɔ̀ŋɛ to press the bellows — *ɔ̀kwɔ̀* bellows
rùŋ to break off — *ɔ̀rùŋ̀* a cow whose horns are broken, a hornless cow
ɔ̀ŋ̀ to darken (said of the sun) — *ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ̀* cloud-shadow
ɔ̀ŋɛ to hollow — *ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ̀* hollow
ɔ̀ŋ̀ to raise, lift up — *ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ̀* stones raised up, dam
ŋ̀ŋɛ to make a lord — *ŋ̀ŋ̀* lord
ŋ̀ŋ̀ to swing — *ɔ̀ŋ̀ŋ̀* swinging
ŋ̀ŋɛ to blossom — *ɔ̀ŋ̀* flower
ŋ̀ŋɛ to stimulate — *ɔ̀ŋ̀ɛ* stimulating
ɔ̀ŋ̀ to be astute — *ɔ̀ŋ̀* astuteness
ɛ̀ŋɛ to wag — *ɔ̀ŋ̀ɛ* wagging.

The prefix *o* often designates persons as descendants of other persons, as members of a tribe or nation:

wìjɛ sister *ɔwìjɛ* the child of the sister
wìjɛ the mother's sister *ɔwìjɛ* the mother's sister's child
wìjɛ the mother's brother, *ɔwìjɛ* the mother's brother's child
Dìl name of a king *ɔ̀Dìl* the son of *Dìl*.
ɔ̀ŋ̀l Shilluk *ɔ̀ŋ̀l*) a Shilluk man
ɲìŋ Dinka *ɔ̀ɲìŋ* a Dinka man
bɛ̀ŋɛ foreign *ɔbɛ̀ŋɛ̀* a stranger, foreigner.

In some cases *o* or *ɔ* are prefixed to a noun, thus giving it a peculiar sense:

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kúlŋ finger — *olúlŋ* a dura which has four ears, like the four (long) fingers of the hand

nwí frost — *únwíŋ* the first rain hoes — *únwíŋgí* "millet-corn": chinaware.

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Not all words with a prefix can be derived from words without a prefix, for example:

dhíth a certain cow, *thín* hammer, *dhík* fire, *chíny* bushbuck, and many others.

In some words the prefix may be omitted at will:

wíŋy and *íŋy* head — *ŋóm* and *yóŋ* fisherman.

There are some other words beginning with a vowel, but here apparently the vowel is not a prefix:

ká there, *ín* this, *kíká* these, *éjá* in order that, *go* he, him, *ley* to send, *gwí* relative by marriage, *kúj* what?

In some of these a beginning consonant can be shown to have been dropped: *go* < *ngo*, *ley* to send < *nley*; *gwí* relative by marriage is in Gu. *mwr*; in *kúj* "what" *k* is evidently the deictic particle: "it is".

9. **Reduplication** is very rare. I have only met with one single example: *pípí* to be possessed by a spirit. 193?

The Shilluks like to repeat a word or grammatical form which is to be emphasized: *á kúlu, kúlu, kúlu* he was going, going, going: was going on for a long while; *yí kíní kíní kíní kíní* they came all, all, all: all of them came; *kín kín kín* very far away; *á chíkí chíkí* he approached slowly, stealthily; *gá ndwí, gá ndwí* I looked closely.

Recapitulation.

The word in *kíní* may have the following forms:

1. *a*, 2. *ka*, 3. *kwa*, 4. *kín*, 5. *kíní*, 6. *kwa, kwaí*, 7. *kúlu, kúnu*, 8. *chíní, chíny, chwíny*; 9. *kúlu*.

COMPOSITION OF WORDS.

Nearly all compound words in *kíní* consist in two or more nouns, which stand to each other in genetive relation; they are, properly speaking, no compound words, but two distinct, independent nouns; compare:

wwé dyíl "eye of the cow"	a kind of red dura
wwé Nyíkáŋ "eye of Nyikang"	cast
wwé ŋo "eye of lion"	a kind of red dura
wíŋ ŋo "head of lion"	story, tale
wíŋ hyet "head of horse"	riddle

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A peculiar kind of compound nouns is formed by nóo, the combined form of nóo "man, person"; nóo is properly "the man", "this man", see 138. It may be combined with a noun, or, what is more frequent, with a verb in the present tense, and with a verb in the passive:

nóo r *ghóky*, nóo r *ghóky*	"the person is a woman"	the woman
nóo *ñjy*	"the man (is) black"	a black man
nóo *shwyo*, nóo r *shwyo*	"the man is killed"	a killed person
nóo r *ñóly*, nóo *ñóly*	"the man (he) is shaving"	one who is shaving
nóo r *kíl*	"the man (he) is killed"	a killed person.

In the following compound nouns the first part of the composition is known, but no more existing independently in the language.

ndíjy a red-brown cow, *ndúd* a grey cow, *tjóol* a black cow, from "a cow; compare Ba. *ti* cow, Ba. *ki-ti* cow. Compare also: *gwól* cow (**ŋo gwó*, Bi *gwó*; *ghó* (**ŋo ygó* cows, Bi. *ygó*. In both cases the word in Shilluk has two components: **ŋo* and *gwó*, *ygó*.

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The last consonant of the ruling noun undergoes a change in these words:

ngwomóol a certain cow
ngwogór a certain cow
ndíjydíjyól a certain cow

} from *ngwó* "cow".

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THIRD SECTION:

GENEALOGICAL RELATIONS OF THE SHILLUK LANGUAGE.

THE DIALECTS OR DIVISIONS.

197 The Shilluk language is not confined to one single territory, but is spoken in different parts of the White Nile region, some of which are situated at considerable distance from one another. The largest section of Shilluk-speaking people live in what is generally called the Shilluk country, and only this part is known under the name of Shilluk people. The rest of the tribes speaking the same language have each their own name, both for people and language, but their languages are essentially one in structure and vocabulary with the Shilluk proper. There are, of course, dialectical differences, which are the natural consequence of the language being separated into locally different branches, so that each branch had its own way of development, and was in some measure influenced by its respective neighbour; but the following examples will make it evident that they are to be regarded as dialects of one language. It is to be noted that not only the collection of words given below are identical, but, as far as I have been able to judge, about 90% of all words in these dialects are uniform, and so is the grammatical structure; the only remarkable deviation is that Gaag (Ashuli) has a noun-forming prefix *la-*, pl. *la-*, which is Hamitic and corresponds to the Masai "article" *el* pl. *il*.

The dialects or divisions of the Shilluk language are:

1. *Shilluk proper.*
2. *Anywak (Anuak, also Anuak)*; it is spoken a) on both sides of the Sobat between the Dinka Tribe Gaak *(Nyk)* and the Nuer, south-east of Akwong; b) in Abyssinia on both sides of the river Baro; c) in Abyssinia between the rivers Gelo and Akobo.

   The Anywak has been somewhat influenced by its neighbour, the Nuer; some grammatical formations coincide with those of Nuer. But during my stay in the Shilluk country I have convinced myself that it is possible without considerable difficulty to converse with an Anywak man in Shilluk. The Abyssinians call the Anywaks *Jambo*.
3. *Nuer*; is spoken between the 7th and 8th degree of n. lat. and about the 28th and 29th degree of eastern longitude.

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4. *Dembo*; is spoken to the north-west of *Jur*, on both sides of the Bahr Dembo. 197
5. *Belanda*; is spoken south to south-west of the *Jur*, the habitat of both being separated by the Bongo or Dor.
6. *Bor (Bjr)*; is spoken south of the Bongo country and east of the Belanda, on the right bank of the Sue river.
7. *Buri (Bjri)* is spoken in the province of Mongalla, on the right bank of the Nile, north-east of Lado.

On the map of A. E. S. the Buri ("Burri") are also called Beir; from this it is probable, that Buri and Bor are identical, Buri being the plural form of Bor. Again according to Schweinfurth[1] the Bongo designate the *Jur* by the name of "Beir", and on the map of A. E. S. in the habitat of the Bor the name "Jur" is put in; this seems to show the very near relationship of *Jur*, Bor and Buri; and as Belanda lies close to Bor, these two can also be nearly or totally identical.[2]

8. *Gang (Gni) or Acholi*; is spoken in the country situated east, north-east and north of the Nile between Lake Victoria and Lake Albert. — The name Acholi, also Shuli, is evidently identical with the name of the Shilluk: *Chòlo*, the *i* in Acholi, Shuli denoting the plural.
9. *Nyifwa (Nifwa)* or *Ja Lwo*, also called Kavirondo; is spoken in part of the Kavirondo-country, in the north-east coastlands of Lake Albert, round the Kavirondo-bay.
10. *Lango* (Kitching: Umiro); is spoken in the Bukedi district, north and north-east of Lake Kioga. Kitching in his Grammar of the Gang Language page VII says: "The northern Bukedi or Lango seem to be distinct from the Umiro, and their dialect is unintelligible to the Acholi." But the words which Johnston gives under "Lango", are clearly a dialect of Acholi and Shilluk proper.
11. *Alwro* (Kitching: Alur); is spoken in the country north and north-west of Lake Albert and west of the Nile.
12. *Chopi*; is, according to Kitching, spoken between Bunyoro and the Victoria Nile. Sir Harry Johnston does not mention this name in "The Uganda Protectorate", but he says that the name *Lwo*, which is given to several Shilluk dialects, also occurs in the north of Unyoro.
13. South of Nyifwa, on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria, lives a small tribe called *Gupe*; they seem also to speak a dialect of Shilluk; but it is not sure.
14. The same is to be said of the *Jajalo*, who live to the north-east of Lake Albert.

These are the dialects or divisions of the Shilluk which are known to-day. It is, however, to be observed that the word "dialect" is not employed here quite in its usual meaning, as of some "dialects", chiefly Bor, Buri, Belanda,

[1] Linguistische Ergebnisse einer Reise nach Central-Afrika (Berlin 1873) p. 61.
[2] Compare also R. Struck "An Uncivilized Tribe on the White Nile", in Journal of the African Society 1908 page 73—78.

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197 Dembo, it is not known whether they do at all differ from each other, or whether they are rather divisions of one identical dialect. The distinctions which do exist between some of the divisions will best be seen from the examples following in the list below. In this list most of the dialects or divisions are illustrated:

Anywak from my own unpublished materials;

Jur in Schweinfurth, Linguistische Ergebnisse;

Bor is represented by a few words[1] in Petherick, Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa, p. 481:

forehead *ony*	Shilluk *oiñ*	The orthography of the original has been retained.
eye *ooay*	Shilluk *ooai*	
nose *kwom*	Shilluk *kwom*	
lip *dwó*	Shilluk *dyó*	
tooth *kwé*	Shilluk *kyé*	
tongue *kwé*	Shilluk *kyy*	

Gaaj in Kirking: An Outline Grammar of the Gaaj Language, London 1908.

Nyifwa in O. Baumann, Von Massailand zur Nilquelle, also in Sir H. Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate.

Lango and *Alura* in Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate.

Of *Dembo*, *Belanda*, *Bori* and *Chopi* I have not found any materials. *Dembo* and *Belanda* I include amongst the Shilluk dialects on the strength of Schweinfurth's statement ("Im Herzen von Afrika" page 63): north of the Jurs the more numerous Dembo and some smaller tribes of the same origin have their residence; and the Belanda live 80 (German) miles south of the Jur; they, in spite of the great differences in their habits, which have evidently been influenced by the Bongo, still have preserved the Shilluk language in a more or less pure form." The native traditions also designate the Belanda as belonging to the Shilluks.

Of *Bori* Emin Pasha says that they speak the same language as the Shilluks.

Chopi is mentioned by Kirking as belonging to the Shilluk group.

It is remarkable that many dialects bear the same name. As stated above, Acholi, also called Shuli, is doubtless identical with *Chilo*, the name of the Shilluk proper. Likewise the name Lwo occurs repeatedly: the Jurs call themselves Lwo; the Alura of Albert Lake, according to Johnston, more often pronounce their name Alwo, and this form appears again in the north of Unyoro and among the Ja-Lwo (*Nyifwa*). Note also the names *Bjr*, *Bjri*, *Bjr*, (this last name is given to the Shilluk proper by the Dinkas), and *Bjr*, which is the proper name of the Belanda.

[1] These words are also given by Brugsch, An Unknown Tribe.

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THE POSITION OF SHILLUK AMONG OTHER AFRICAN LANGUAGES.

The Shilluk belongs to a clearly circumscribed group of African Languages, which is usually styled "Nilotic Languages". It is difficult to give the characteristic marks of the languages belonging to this group, as sufficient materials of all of them are not available. Some chief points are:

1. Mute and fricative sounds are in some cases interchangeable, chiefly *p* and *f* are often so.
2. Many, if not all, of the languages have interdental sounds (*t d n*). I have found them in Shilluk, Anywak, Nuer and Dinka, and according to some German authors Masai and Ndorobo also have them.[1]
3. The stem in most cases consists in a consonant, vowel, and consonant, generally ending in a consonant.
4. Stems with a semivowel between the first consonant and the vowel are frequent. The stem-vowel is often a diphthong.
5. Probably in most of them intonation plays an important rôle.

The Nilotic languages consist of two sub-divisions:

a) The Niloto-Sudanic group.
b) The Niloto-Hamitic group.

It is probable that the Nilotic languages originally belong to the family of the Sudan-languages (vide below 95). The phonology, the form of the word and some grammatical peculiarities in all Nilotic languages point to this common origin. The vocabularies of all of them have certain sudanic elements. But at a certain former period all these languages have more or less strongly been influenced by languages of a different character, which are generally called Hamitic languages. They differ from the Sudanic languages chiefly in the grammatical gender, in the prevalence of accentuation instead of intonation, and in their more extensive possibilities of expressing formative elements. Rudiments of the grammatical gender are found in Shilluk also, see 126; likewise accentuation exists in Shilluk, but the means of forming words are scanty. On the other hand numerous Shilluk-words, which most probably are Sudanic, are found in languages generally counted as Hamitic.

So the line between Niloto-Sudanic and Niloto-Hamitic languages is not easy to define; they all have components of Sudanic and of Hamitic origin, only that in some cases the first is prevalent, in others the latter. But nevertheless the groups may be distinguished; the languages belonging to the Niloto-Sudanic group having a large number of words common to all of them, and

[1] See for instance Meinhof on Ndorobo in Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Band X. III; and Struck in „Die geographischen Namen im Gebiet der ostafrikanischen Bruchstufe". Reprinted from „Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten", Nr. 2, 1911.

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many of which are clearly genealogically connected with the Western Sudan languages. In the formation of words and in the structure of their grammar they are essentially uniform; they have not the grammatical gender or only faint traces of it. On the other hand the Niloto-Hamitic group has not nearly so many words in common with the Sudanic group, as the idioms of the Sudanic group have with each other; in formation of words and in the wealth of formative elements they considerably deviate from the Sudanic group; and they have the grammatical gender. Whether accentuation is more, and intonation less prevalent in them than in the Sudanic group, is as yet unknown, but it is probable.

To the Niloto-Sudanic group belong:

a) Shilluk with its divisions or dialects.

b) Dinka and Nuer.

c) Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya (Abo-Kaya), Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Moru.

Dinka is spoken a) in the northern part of the Bahr Ghazal province, b) on both sides of the White Nile between the 6th and 7th ° n. l. (Bor), c) on both sides of the lower Sobat, d) on the right bank of the White Nile from near the mouth of the Sobat to Jebelein. Bahr Ghazal and Bor are probably the eldest seats of the Dinkas, from here they emigrated northwards. The dialect of Bor *(Bör)* seems to differ considerably from the dialects of the north. Dinka has in its vocabulary remarkable similarity with Bari; in accordance with this the Dinkas seem in their bodily appearance and their culture to be more strongly influenced by Hamitic tribes than the Shilluks are.

The *Nuers* live a) on the White Nile north of Bor, b) south of Tonga and of the lower Sobat, c) on both sides of the Sobat near Nasser.

Dinka and Nuer differ in their phonology and structure but slightly from the Shilluk dialects; they have, in common with Acholi and Anywak, the particles *cki* and *bi* for expressing past and future; these particles are not found in Shilluk proper. A great, probably the greater part of the words of both languages are essentially the same as in Shilluk, but to a considerable extent the vocabularies differ, so that both are to be considered as separate languages. They are nearer related to each other than to Shilluk.

c) Some tribes lying between the upper course of the rivers Rohl and Suë speak languages which seem to be in some broader way connected with the Niloto-Sudanic group, so that they are perhaps to be regarded as a sub-group of these. To this sub-group belong: Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya (Abo-Kaya), Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Moru. According to Schweinfurth and A. E. S. the six first-named of these tribes have really one language, which differs only dialectically, so that individuals of the different tribes understand each other.

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In their vocabularies these languages considerably distinguish themselves from the Shilluk dialects as well as from Dinka and Nuer.

According to their topographical situation the three groups of Niloto-Sudanic languages may be designated thus:

a) The High Nilotic Group, comprising Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya, Abo-Kaya, Abaka, Luba, Wira, Londu, Moru.

b) The Middle Nilotic Group, comprising the Shilluk cluster.

c) The Low Nilotic Group, comprising Dinka and Nuer.

The *Niloto-Hamitic group* may, according to B. Struck,[1] be divided into the sub-groups of Bari-Masai and Nandi-Tatoga. To the first belong: Masai, Ngishu, Elgumi, Teso, Suk, Karamojo, Turkana, and Bari; to the latter: Tatoga, Ndorobo, Nandi, Kamasia, and Burkeneji. All these languages are situated in British- and German East-Africa.

The *Niloto-Sudanic languages* are a sub-group of the *Eastern Sudan Languages*, to which belong Nuba in the north, Kunama in the north-east, most languages of the southern Gesira (between White and Blue Nile), and others.

The Eastern together with the Central and Western Sudan-languages form the family of the *Sudan Languages*, which extend from near the Red Sea and Abyssinia through the whole continent to the Atlantic Ocean from the northern Cameroons to Senegambia.

In order to demonstrate the genealogical connection between Shilluk, the Niloto-Sudanic group and the Eastern Sudan languages on one side and the Western Sudan languages on the other side, the chief characteristics of the Sudan languages, as shown in my "Sudansprachen" may be given here:

1. they are monosyllabic, each word consisting in one syllable;
2. each syllable or word consists in one consonant and one vowel;
3. they are isolating, that is they have no inflection, and only few formative elements; the "class-prefixes" of the Bantu-languages and of some Hamitic languages are absent;
4. they have no grammatical gender;
5. intonation is prevailing in a higher degree than it is in Bantu- and Hamitic languages.

These characteristics are not preserved in their pure form in all Sudan languages, almost all of them showing some marks of development from the primitive stage to a more developed state, chiefly by adding augments to the original stem; this is still more the case, where a language has been strongly influenced by an idiom belonging to a different family. But in each Sudan language it will, to a certain extent, be possible to trace the later additions to a stem as such, that is to show that these words were originally simple stems

[1] B. Struck, Über die Sprachen der Tatoga und Irakuleute. Reprinted from the "Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten", Ergänzungsheft 4, 1910.

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consisting in one consonant and one vowel, to which certain elements were added at a later time.

In Shilluk the characteristics mentioned above can easily be traced:

1. the stems are monosyllabic; see 61;
2. though the majority of the words do not consist in one consonant and one vowel, it is shown in 68 that a number of stems can be traced to the original primitive form;
3. the language has no inflection; the vowel-changes occurring in the verb and noun, which come near to what might be called inflection, are most probably of Hamitic origin. The nouns have no class-prefixes;
4. grammatical gender is absent; the rudiments of it which do exist, are of Hamitic origin;
5. Intonation dominates in the language.

Comparative Lists of Words.

Their object is to show in a number of words:

a) the identity of Shilluk proper and its dialects or divisions.

b) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and other Niloto-Sudanic languages, viz. Dinka and Nuer.

c) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and other Eastern Sudan languages. Of these Nuba is treated in the list; it has a good number of words in common with Shilluk; in other Eastern Sudanic languages such common words are rarer.

d) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and Bongo; this language, though having its habitat amidst the Shilluk languages, shows remarkable connections with Central Sudanic languages, particularly with Bagirmi. Some of the Bongo-words which it has in common with Shilluk, may of course be loan-words.

e) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and a Niloto-Hamitic language, viz. Bari.

f) the genealogical relation of Shilluk and some other Eastern Sudan languages to the Western Sudan-languages.

a)—e) are comprised in one group; f) forms a group for itself. Both groups might without difficulty have been multiplied, but the examples given will suffice.

[In order to show more fully the affinities in vocabulary between the Niloto-Sudanic and the Niloto-Hamitic group, a number of words common to languages of both groups are given in their Hamitic form in the *Dictionary*. It will be seen that the conformities with Shilluk are more nume-

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rous in the Bari-Masai than in the Nandi-Tatoga group. The Dictionary contains also some hints regarding the very few words which are identical in Shilluk and in the High Niloto-Sudanic group.]

In the comparative lists some letters are used, which do not occur in Shilluk, and need therefore an explanation.

ǫ is the German ö in nötig "necessary"; it is pronounced in rounding the lips as if pronouncing an o and then saying an e. — Mitterrutzner's ȧ I render by ǫ. ~ is the mark for nasalization: ã is nasalized *a* as in French an "year". ǵ is a palatal g, it sounds almost like j. In Nuer and Anywak the pronunciation of final mute consonants and even of y is in certain cases followed by a pressing of the larynx, so that the consonant sounds very abrupt, and is sometimes hardly audible. These sounds are rendered by ': ƒ, y', etc. (Some divisions of Shilluk as well as Masai and Nandi have the same sounds; see Johnston page 888.) — Kitching frequently writes "*or*" at the end of a word, where other languages have ǫ; I suppose that here "*or*" simply expresses ǫ, "*or*" being frequently used by English speaking authors for ǫ.

Most of the authors quoted do not distinguish *o* and ǫ, *e* and ɛ, some not even long and short vowels; none has marked interdental sounds; thus the differences between Shilluk and the other languages look greater than they really are, the difference being only one of orthography.

The following remarks belong to the second group only.

ụ, ị are narrow vowels; u, i are wide vowels.

ḍ and ḷ are cerebral sounds; they are formed a little further back in the mouth than where the usual d and l are articulated.

ƙ is a transformed *k*; the changes which it undergoes in certain languages are different from those of the usual *k*.

χ is the German ch in "ach".

v is the English v.

ʉ is an i with rounded lips, as in German "übt".

ẃ is ʉ with a following short y.

First Group.

Shi. *bgr* long	Any. *bat* arm	Ju. *bgt* sharp, pointed
Ga. *bor* long	Ju. *bat* arm	Any. *bgdi* sharp, pointed
Ju. *bār* long	Ja. *bāt* arm	Di. *bit* fish-spear
Di. *bar* long	La. *bāt* arm	Nr. *biƙ* fish-spear
Nr. *bgr* long	Shi. *bgt* fish-spear	Shi. *dbich* five
Shi. *bàt* arm	Ga. *bit* sharp	Ga. *abich* five
Ga. *bat* arm	Ju. *bgdi* fish-spear	Ju. *abich* five

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197 Any. *abíyù* five
Ja. *abïch* five
192 Al. *abi* five
Ba. *bu* five

Shi. *bǫ̈ḍǫ* artist, smith
Ju. *bōdo* artist, smith
Bo. *bǫro* artist, smith
Ba. *bōdo* artist, smith

Shi. *būl* drum
Ga. *bul* drum
Ju. *būl* drum
Any. *būl* drum
Nr. *būl* drum
Ja. *būl* drum
La. *būl* drum
Al. *vūl* drum

Shi. *bur* ashes
Ga. *buru* ashes
Ju. *bur* ashes
Nu. *oburti* ashes
Bo. *burukv* ashes

Shi. *butǫ* to lie down
Ga. *buto* to lie down
Ju. *budo* to lie down
Any. *butǫ* to lie down
Di. *but* to waylay

Shi. *byǫ́l* dura
Ga. *bel* corn
Ju. *bǫl* dura
Any. *byǫ́l* dura
Nr. *bǫ̈l* dura
Di. *bel* dura

Shi. *chāk* milk
Ga. *chak* milk
Ju. *chak* milk
Any. *chāk* milk
Nr. *châk* milk

Di. *cha* milk
Nu. *ichi* milk

Shi. *chāmǫ* to eat
Ga. *chamo* to eat
Ju. *shame* to eat
Any. *chama* to eat
Nr. *cham* to eat
Ja. *chamo, chygmǫ* to eat
La. *samǫ* to eat
Di. *cham* to eat

Shi. *chul* penis
Ju. *shul* penis
Any. *chul* penis
Nr. *chul* penis
La. *sūl* penis
Al. *chūl* penis
Ba. *toluto* testicles
Nu. *sorot* penis
Di. *chul* penis

Shi. *chuṅ, chwiṅ* liver
Ga. *chwin* liver
Ju. *shwiṅ* liver
Nr. *chwoṅ* liver
Di. *chweṅ* liver

Shi. *chūṅǫ* to stop
Ga. *chuno* to stop
Ju. *chuṅ* to stop
Any. *chūṅǫ* to stop
Nr. *chuṅ* to stop

Shi. *chwǫr* vulture
Ga. *ochur* vulture
achut vulture
Ju. *achut* vulture
Nr. *chwǫ́r* vulture
Di. *chwor* vulture

Shi. *ádḍ̈k* three
Ga. *adek* three

Ju. *adak* three
Any. *àdḍ́gò* three
Ba. *bu-dǫk* eight, that is: five and three
Ja. *adek* three
La. *adek* three
Al. *adek* three

Shi. *ḍāk* pot
Ga. *dak* pot
Ju. *dak* pot
Any. *dak* pot
Nr. *ṭǭk* pot
Ba. *dāk* pot

Shi. *ḍ̈ā̈ŋ* man
Ga. *dano* man
Jur. *dano* man
Any. *ḍāŋ* man
Ja. *dāŋǫ* man
La. *daŋǫ* man
Al. *daŋǫ* man
Di. *ran* man
Nr. *rān* man

Shi. *ḍ̈ǫ̈k* mouth
Ga. *dok* mouth
Ju. *tio* mouth
Any. *ḍ̈ǫ̈k* mouth
Ja. *dōk* mouth
La. *dǫk* mouth
Al. *dǫk* mouth
Di. *wtoch* mouth
Nr. *ṭǫk* mouth
Nu. *ak* mouth
Bo. *ndu* language
Ba. *ka-tok* mouth

Shi. *gǭjǫ* to beat
Ju. *goi* to beat
Any. *gwai* to beat

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Ja. *gǭjǫ* to shoot
Bo. *gba* to beat
Ba. *gwai* to beat

Shi. *ogwal* frog
Ga. *ogwal* frog
Ju. *ogwal* frog
Any. *ogwal* frog
Nu. *guglati* frog

Shi. *gwok* dog
Ga. *gwok* dog
Ju. *guok* dog
Any. *gwok* dog
Ja. *gwok* dog
La. *guōk* dog
Al. *guōk* dog
Di. *jo* dog
Nr. *jǫ̀k* dog
Ba. *dyoṅ* dog

Shi. *gyēnō* hen
Ga. *gweno* hen
Ju. *gyeno* hen
Any. *gwęnǫ* hen
Ja. *gweno* hen
La. *gwēno* hen
Al. *gwēno* hen
Bo. *ṅgono* hen

Shi. *jɛ̄* people
Ga. *jī* people
Any. *jō* people
Bo. *jī, ǰī* people
Ba. *gwea* tribe

Shi. *jwǫk* God
Ga. *jok* demon
Any. *jwǫk* God
Ju. *jwok* fortune
Ja. *jwogi* ghost
La. *zǫk* God

Al. *jǫk* God
Di. *ajyek, ajǫk* demon
Ba. *ajwok, jwek* demon

Shi. *kǭbǫ* to take away
Ga. *kabo* to bring
Ju. *kābi* to bring
Di. *kap* to bring, take
Nr. *kǭp* to take

Shi. *kādǫ* salt[1]
Ga. *kado* salt
Ju. *kada* salt
Any. *kadǫ* salt
Nr. *kàdè* salt

Shi *kāgǫ* to split
Ga. *kak* to split
Nu. *kage* to split
Ba. *kagu* to split

Shi. *kɛ̄ch* bitter
Ga. *kech* bitter
Ju. *kɛ̄ch* bitter
Any. *kęch* bitter
Nu. *kag-al* sharp
Di. *kech* bitter
Bo. *k* bile

Shi. *kich* bee
Ga. *kich* bee
Ju. *kich* bee
Any. *kich* bee
Ja. *kīch'* bee
La. *kits* bee
Al. *kīch* bee
Di. *kyech* bee
Nu. *kit, kuti* bee
Ba. *chi, chiwo* bee

Shi. *kǭt* rain
Ga. *kot* rain
Ju. *kǫt* rain
Any. *kǭt* rain
Ja. *kōt* rain
La. *kǫt* rain
Al. *kǫt* rain
Nr. *kǭt* rain, God
Ba. *kudu* rain

Shi. *akur* pigeon
Ga. *akuri* pigeon
Di. *kure* pigeon
Nr. *kùr* pigeon
Nu. *kuru* pigeon
Ba. *gure* pigeon

Shi. *kwōālǫ*, *kwǭtǫ* } to steal
Ga. *kwalo* to steal
Any. *kwǭtǫ* to steal
Ja. *kwalǫ* to steal
La. *kwalo* to steal
Di. *kwal* to steal
Nr. *kwal* to steal
Ba. *kola-nit* theft

Shi. *kwęnǫ* to count
Ga. *kwano* to count
Ju. *kwēno* to count
Nr. *kwǫn* to count
Di. *kwen* to count
Ba. *ken* to count

Shi. *kwāāṅǫ* to swim
Ga. *kwaṅo* to swim
Ju. *kwaṅ* to swim
Any. *kwal* to swim
Nu. *kuǵe* to swim

Shi. *kwǭrǫ* cotton
Ga. *waro* cotton
Ju. *wara* cotton
Ba. *waro* cotton

[1] salt made of grass-ashes.

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Shi. *kwārǫ* grandfather
Ga. *kwaro* grandfather
Ju. *kwā* grandfather
Di. *kǫkwar* grandfather
Nr. *kwāro* chief
Ba. *na-kwari* grandchild

Shi. *kwārǫ* red
Ga. *kwar* red
Ju. *kwar* red
Nr. *kwâr* red
Nu. *kor-gos* yellow

Shi. *kwach* leopard
Ga. *kwach* leopard
Ju. *kwach* leopard
Any. *kwach* leopard
Ja. *kwach* leopard
La. *kwach* leopard
Al. *kwach* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Nr. *kway'* leopard
Bo. *kǫgo* leopard
Ba. *koka kwaru* } leopard

Shi. *kwǫn* bread
Ga. *kwon* bread
Ju. *kwǫn* bread
kwǫn bread
Any. *kwon* bread
Nr. *kwǫn* bread
Bo. *koā* bread

Shi. *ákyęl* one
Ga. *achel* one
Ju. *akyęlo* one
Any. *àchyęlǫ* one
Ja. *achyel* one
Al. *achyel* one
Bo. *kotu* one
Ba. *bu-ker* six = five + 1

Shi. *kyęń* horse
Ga. *kana* horse
Ju. *akaja* donkey
Any. *okwęń* horse
Ja. *kanima* horse
Bo. *akasa* horse
Nu. *kach* horse, donkey
Ba. *kaine* horse

Shi. *lachǫ* to piss
Ga. *layo* to piss
Ju. *alach* urine
Any. *la* to piss
Ja. *lāch'* urine
La. *lās* urine
Al. *lāch* urine
Di. *lach* to piss
Ba. *lode* urine

Shi. *lǫi* game
Ga. *le* game
Ju. *lai* game
Any. *lǫi* game
Nr. *lǫi* game
Ba. *lai* game

Shi. *lāmǫ* to pray
Ga. *lamo* to sacrifice
Di. *lam* to pray
Nr. *lam* to pray
Bo. *loma* God
Ba. *lǫm* to insult

Shi. *lél* war
Ga. *lwen* war
Ju. *lwiń* war
Ja. *luei* war
Any. *lel* war
Bo. *lań* gun

Shi. *alilit* bat
Ga. *olik* bat
Any. *aligá* bat
Di. *alich* bat
Ba. *lukululi* bat

Shi. *lwǭkǫ* to wash
Ga. *lwoko* to wash
Ju. *lwok* to wash
Any. *lwǫk* to wash
Di. *lǫk* to wash
Nr. *lah* to wash
Bo. *dogu* to wash
Ba. *lalaju* to wash

Shi. *māch* fire
Ga. *mach* fire
Ju. *mach* fire
Any. *māyǫ* fire
Ja. *mach'* fire
La. *māch* fire
Al. *māch* fire
Di. *mai* fire
Nr. *māch* fire

Shi. *māḍǫ* to drink
Ga. *mato* to drink
Ju. *māde* to drink
Any. *māḍǫ* to drink
Ja. *madǫ* to drink
La. *matǫ* to drink
Di. *mat* to drink
Nr. *mąt* to drink

Shi. *māgǫ* to catch
Ga. *mako* to catch
Ju. *mau* to catch
Any. *mak* to catch
Di. *mwǫk* to catch
Nu. *māge* to catch, steal
Ba. *mok* to catch

Shi. *mąnǫ* to hate
Ga. *mon* to hate

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Di. *man* to hate
Nu. *mōne* to hate
Ba. *man* to hate

Shi. *mgɟ* slow
Ga. *mot* slow
Ju. *māde* slow
Di. *māt* slow
Nr. *mgt* slow
Bo. *mēt* slow
Ba. *madasi* slow

Shi. *nɲŋ* to sleep
Ga. *nino* to sleep
Ju. *nen*, *nendo* } to sleep
Di. *nin* to sleep
Nr. *nygn* to sleep
Nu. *nalū*, *nēre* } to sleep

Shi. *ŋgŋ* to see
Ga. *neno* to see
Any. *nɲna* to see
Ja. *neno* to see
Nr. *nɲn* to see
Nu. *nale* to see

Shi. *ńasi* crocodile
Ga. *ńasi* crocodile
Ju. *ńasi* crocodile
Any. *ńasi* crocodile
Ja. *ńasi* crocodile
La. *aki-ńasi* crocodile
Al. *ńasi* crocodile
Di. *ńasi* crocodile
Nr. *ńasi* crocodile
Bo. *ńaśa* crocodile
Ba. *ki-ńosi* crocodile

Shi. *ńājŋ* to know
Ga. *ńeyo* to know

Ju. *ńgo*, *ńaya* } to know
Ja. *ńeyo* to know
Any. *ńg* to know
Nr. *ńgoh* to know

Shi. *ɗńŋ* what?
Ga. *ańor* what?
Any. *ɗńŋ* what?
Di. *ńo*, *ńu* what?
Nr. *ńu* what?
Ba. *ńio* what?

Shi. *pet*, *fet* earth
Ga. *pin* earth
Ju. *piń* earth
Any. *fet* earth
Ja. *piń* earth
La. *piñe* earth
Di. *piń* earth
Nr. *pet* earth

Shi. *pi* water
Ga. *pi* water
Ju. *pfi*, *fi* water
Any. *pi* water
Ja. *pi* water
La. *pi* water
Al. *pi* water
Di. *pi* water
Nr. *pi* water
Ba. *piom* water

Shi. *fgnŋ* to divide
Ga. *poko* to divide
Ju. *pań* to divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Bo. *eke-bake* to divide

Shi. *rējŋ* fish
Ga. *reeh* fish
Ju. *rēyo* fish

Any. *reo* fish
Ja. *reeh'* fish
La. *reeh* fish
Al. *reeh* fish
Di. *rāch* fish
Nr. *reeh* fish
Nu. *ka-rē* fish

Shi. *rɛ̄mŋ* blood
Ga. *remo* blood
Ju. *remo* blood
Any. *rgmŋ* blood
Ja. *remŋ* blood
La. *remu* blood
Al. *remo* blood
Di. *ryam* blood
Nr. *rygm* blood
Bo. *trama* blood
Ba. *rima* blood

Shi. *rīnŋ* meat
Ga. *rino* meat
Ju. *riño* meat
Any. *rjnŋ* meat
Ja. *riŋ* meat
La. *riño* meat
Al. *riño* meat
Di. *riń* meat
Nr. *rīn* meat
Nu. *arich*, *arji* meat

Shi. *rɛ̄ɗŋ* thirst
Ga. *orwor* thirst
Ju. *ryau* thirst
Any. *ryo* thirst
Di. *rou* thirst
Ba. *rɔdu* to wither

Shi. *rɛ̄mŋ* sheep
Ga. *romo* sheep
Ju. *rōmo* sheep

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197 Any. *rǫmǫ* sheep
Nr. *rǫ̊m* sheep
192 Bo. *rǫmbō* sheep

Shi. *rǭmǫ* to meet
Ga. *romo* to meet
Ju. *romo* to meet
Di. *rom* to meet
Nr. *rōm* to meet
Ba. *rum* to meet

Shi. *rugǫ* to dress
Ga. *riko* to dress
Di. *ruk* to dress
Ba. *ruk* to dress

Shi. *wūm* nose
Ga. *um* nose
Ju. *hum* nose
Ja. *um* nose
La. *um* nose
Al. *um* nose
Any. *óm* nose
wum nose
Di. *um* nose
Nr. *rum* nose
Bo. *hǫmo* nose
Ba. *kume* nose

Shi. *dryǫ̀u* two
Ga. *aryor* two
Ju. *aryau* two
Any. *àréàu* two
Ja. *areio* two
La. *ariǫ* two
Al. *ariǫ* two
Di. *rou* two

Nu. *ora, ore* twenty
Ba. *ǫri* two
bu-ryǫ seven = five + two

Shi. *tǭk* (to be) hard
Ga. *tek* hard
Ju. *tǭk* hard
Any. *tǭk* hard
Di. *tyek* hard
Bo. *tigo* hard

Shi. *tǭn*, pl. *tonǫ* small
Ga. *tidi* small
Any. *tēn* small
Ja. *tēn* small
Nu. *tin, tūń* small
tod small

Shi. *tǫwǫ* to die
Ga. *tor* to die
Any. *tǫu* to die
Ja. *tǫ* to die
La. *tó* to die
Di. *tou* to die
Ba. *tuan* to die

Shi. *wārǫ* shoe
Ga. *war* shoe
Any. *war* shoe
Di. *war* shoe
Nr. *wár* shoe
Nu. *kwarī* shoe

Shi. *wǫr* night
Ju. *war* night
Any. *wǫrǫ* night
Ja. *wǫr* night
Nr. *wǫ̊r* night
Nu. *awar* night

Shi. *wēkǫ* to give
Ga. *weko* to give away
Di. *yek* to give
Ba. *yek* to give

Shi. *wǭlǫ* to travel
Ga. *wel* to travel
Ba. *wala* to travel

Shi. *wińǫ* bird
Ga. *wińo* bird
Ju. *wińo* bird
Any. *wǭyǫ* bird
Ja. *weńǫ* bird
La. *wēn* bird
Al. *wińǭ* bird
Ba. *kwen* bird

Shi. *wōrǫ* to sing
Ju. *wǫr* song
Ga. *wer* song
Ja. *wir* song
La. *wer* song
Al. *wer* song
Nu. *owe* to sing
Ba. *yoyu, yolo* to sing

Shi. *yǫi* boat
Ga. *yeya* boat
Ju. *yei* boat
Any. *yǫi* boat
Ja. *ńjie* boat
La. *yede* boat
Al. *yei* boat
Bo. *yēi* boat.

Second Group.

The words in the first line designate the "original Sudanic form", which has been gained by comparing the sounds of a word in the different languages, and thus finding out those sounds which may be considered as the most primi-

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tive. This "original Sudanic form" is of course merely hypothetical. For more on this see my "Sudansprachen", from which the greater part of these words are taken.

S. bịa to come

E. *vé* to come
bé to come
T. *ba* to come
gbra coming into the world
G. *ba* to come
bla coming into the world
Y. *ba* shall, should
Ibo *bia* to come
Isoama *bia* to come
Efeng *ba* to come
Abouré *va* to come
Alaguiang *va* to come
Avïkam *ba, iba* to come
Mékyibo *ba* to come
Di. *ábi* prefix of future
Nu. *bi* prefix of future
Shi. *bi, bia* to come
Any. *bi* prefix of future
Nr. *bi* prefix of future
Ga. *bino* to come

S. bụagị to fear

E. *vẽ* to fear
Ef. *bak* to fear
Shi. *bẽkẹ* to fear
bwẽkẹ to frighten
Any. *bwẹk* to fear

S. bụla open place

E. *ablẹ* open place
F. *abẹ-atsi*, *abrẹ-atsi* } main street, open place
G. *blẹ* street
V. *bar* large, open place
Nu. *bud* place before the house
Di. *bur, abora* market place
Shi. *bụra* open place

S. ga place

E. *gà* place
T. *gha* this place
N. *ga* this, that
Nu. *aga, agar* place
Shi. *ga* this
agak these

S. gaga cowrie

E. *àgàgà* cowrie
Di. *gak* cowrie
Shi. *gãgẹ* cowrie
Ga. *gage* cowrie
Nr. *gak* cowrie
Bo. *gaki* cowrie

S. gụanị antelope

E. *gbàgbà* antelope, "unicorn"
G. *ṅmaṅ*, *ṅma*, *ṅmaṅma* } antelope, "unicorn"
Y. *agbaṅ-rere* "unicorn"
Shi. *aṅwak* waterbuck

S. kụagi, kụaḷị to embrace

E. *kplà* to embrace
T. *kwaṅ* to wind around
G. *kplā* round about
Ef. *ukwaṅ* winding
kpaṅ to fold (hands)
Y. *kpṵ* to carry on the back
Nu. *kat* to envelop
Di. *kwak* to embrace
Shi. *kwakẹ* to embrace
Ga. *kwaka* to embrace

S. kụagi, kụiagi leopard

E. *kpṵ* leopard
T. *etwí* leopard
Ef. *ekpe* leopard
V. *kwi* leopard
N. *ekū* leopard
Ku. *uṅka* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Shi. *kwach* leopard
Ga. *kwach* leopard
Ju. *kwach* leopard
Any. *kwach* leopard
Ja. *kwach* leopard
La. *kwach* leopard
Al. *kwach* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Nr. *kway'* leopard
Bo. *kọgo* leopard
Ba. *koka* leopard
kwaru leopard

S. kụanị bread, pudding

E. *akplẹ* pudding of maize
Shi. *kwẹn* bread
Ga. *kwon* bread
Ju. *kwẹn*, *kwẹn* } bread
Any. *kwon* bread
Nr. *kwẹn* bread
Bo. *koā* bread

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S. ŋwaŋi to count, read
E. *χlŋ̀* to count, read
T. *kaŋ*, *kane* to count, read
G. *kane* to count, read
Y. *ka* to count
V. *kara*, *karaŋ* to learn
Di. *kwen* to count
Shi. *kwɛŋɔ* to count
Ga. *kwano* to count
Ju. *kwɛ̄no* to count
Nr. *kwɛn* to count
Ba. *ken* to count

S. nɲú, *nɲua to lick, suck*
E. *ɖó* to lick, suck
ɖúɖó to lick
Y. *adun*, *adɛn* taste
Nu. *duge*, *dach* to lick
Shi. *ɖɔ̄ɖɔ* to suck, lick
Shi. *ɖwɔ̄ɖɔ* to suckle
Ga. *doto* to suck
Ju. *dot* to suck

S. pagi to divide
E. *afā* part, half
T. *pae* to split
G. *afà* half
Y. *apa* part
Ku. *fak* to split, divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Shi. *pɑ̄ɲɔ* to divide

S. puŋ to beat
E. *fo* to beat
T. *po* to beat
Ef. *foi* to beat
Plaoui *po* to beat
Téoui *po* to beat
Shi. *pwɔ̄dɔ* to beat
Di. *pwot* to beat

S. tiagi to be hard
E. *sɛ̄* to be hard, strong
Di. *chɛ̀k* to be hard
Shi. *tɛ̀k* to be hard, strong
Ga. *tek* to be hard
Ju. *tɛ̀k* to be hard
Any. *tɛ̀k* to be hard
Bo. *tigo* to be hard

S. tiji hand
E. *ashí* hand
Ku. *shi-ma* hand
Di. *chin*, *chyen* hand
Shi. *chyɛ̄ŋɔ* hand
Ju. *shyeno* hand
Any. *shyɛŋɔ* hand

S. tiji to bear a child; wife
E. *ashi* wife
Ku. *shi* to beget, bear
shā begetting
Nu. *ash*, *ashi* daughter
Di. *tik* wife
Shi. *chi* wife.

Appendix.

Some Names of Languages, Peoples, and Rivers, as they are in use among the natives.

[101] *The Shilluks* call themselves: *Ócháłɔ̀* a Shilluk man, pl. *Chɔ́l*, or *wate Chɔ́l* "children of *Chɔl*"; their country: *ʃɔ̀tɛ̀ chɔ́l*; their language: *ɟɔ̀ chɔ́l*. The Shilluks are called by the Arabs: Shilluk, by the Dinkas: *Bɟr*, by the Nuers: *Tɲt*.

The *Anywaks* call themselves: *Anwak*, they are called by the Nuers: *Bálāk*, by the Dinkas: *Pálāk*, by the Abyssinians: Jambo.

The *Dinkas* call themselves: *Jāŋe*; they are called by the Shilluks: *ójānɔ̀* pl. *jānì*; by the Arabs: Dinka, or Denka.

The *Nuers* call themselves: *Gánāt* a Nuer man, pl. *Kɛ́gânàt*; their language: *ţɔk Nāt*; they are called by the Shilluks: *Nuér*, by the Dinkas: *Núər*; by the Arabs: *Nuér* or *Nawár*.

The Jurs call themselves De-Luo or Luo, by the Shilluks they are called Odimo, "descendants of Dimo", by the Bongo: *Bɟr*. The Belanda call them-

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selves *Bgr*. Belanda is a Bongo word, *landa* = stone, hill; so Belanda is probably "hill-country".

The Nubians are in all three languages called: *Dgo̱*, from "Dongola". According to Schweinfurth in Golo the Nubians are called Turuku, in Jur Oturu, in Bongo Turu; these names are doubtlessly derived from "Turk".

The Bahr Zeraf is called in Shilluk: *Ongl*, in Nuer: *Fgu*, in Dinka: *Pian* The Bahr Jebel is called in Shilluk: *Kēr;* in Dinka: *Kēr*, in Nuer: *Konam;* the Khor Fīlus is called in Shilluk: *Olūt*, in Dinka: *Pelūt*, in Nuer: *Pulūt*.

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FOURTH SECTION:

THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

THE NOUN.

Singular and Plural.

193 **Singular.** Many nouns have in the singular the suffix ǫ; in some nouns it may be dropped at will; on this and on the original meaning of ǫ see 71.

197 Some nouns denoting a plurality, are in their form singular, and are treated as such; e. g.: *lgbǫ, ɣdǫ* people.

Plural. The Shilluk is remarkable for its manifold means of forming the plural of nouns. These means may be divided into three principles; they are: plural-formation

a) by affixes,
b) by change of tone,
c) by change of vowel.

Generally in forming the plural of a noun, not only one of these means is employed, but several.

a) **Plural-formation by affixes.** In most Sudan languages the plural of nouns is formed by affixing to the singular a particle, which in most cases originally is a noun or a pronoun: "people, they". In Shi. this formation is represented by several vocalic and consonant affixes.

1. The most frequent plural-affix is the suffix *i*. Although by no means all nouns have this suffix in the plural, yet it is a question of feeling with the natives that they prefer it; if a foreign word is introduced into the language, it receives *i* in the plural; and on the other hand there are numerous genuine Shilluk words which sometimes are used with *i*, and sometimes without it in the plural. This leads to the supposition that possibly the ending *i* was formerly more employed than it is now, and that it may be the oldest and originally only ending for the plural. — The plural-suffix *i* occurs also in Masai and in Nuba and Kunama; in Kunama *i* is the personal pronoun of the third person plural: "they". It may be that the suffix *i* is of common origin in all these four languages.

Besides the vowel-suffix, there are several consonants which serve in forming the plural:

2. *k; gin* thing pl. *gik; k* may be shortened from the demonstrative pronoun *ak* "these"; in Di. the plural is formed in the same way, viz. by adding the

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demonstrative pronoun *ke* "these".

3. *ţ; ţ* is possibly identical with the Anywak word *ţoţ* "many"; so that originally the word was common to both languages, but in Shi. it was exclusively retained for forming the plural, a different word being employed for "many". In Anywak the plural is frequently formed by simply adding "*ţoţ*". In some cases the plural is formed by adding *t* instead of *ţ;* whether this is misheard by me, or whether there is really a class with *t* in plural, I do not know. — Di. also has the plural in *t (ţ?): puou-puot* heart.

4. A nasal consonant; some nouns form their plural in changing their last consonant into the corresponding nasal one, according to the rule given in 40; here doubtlessly a nasal consonant has been suffixed, which may be shortened from the demonstrative pronoun *an* "this, these".

While *ị* is used very much, and may, in a certain measure, be employed at will, *k, ţ* and the nasal consonant are restricted to a small number of nouns.

5. Words whose second consonant is a voiced mute followed by a vowel, change this consonant into the corresponding voiceless one in the plural: *áfùdǫ* pl. *áfùtị*. In connection with this it is to be remarked that in those nouns which in their plural end in a mute consonant, *this consonant is always voiceless*, even when a vowel follows: *lɛ̨k* teeth, *lɛ̨ka* my teeth, *lɛ̨k ak* these teeth; this is contrary to the rule in 38; perhaps this voicelessness is the rest of a voiceless consonant which was suffixed for forming the plural, but assimilated itself in all cases with the preceding consonant.

6. Many nouns form their plural by dropping the singular-suffix *ǫ: gyɛ̨nǫ* hen pl. *gyɛ̨n*.

7. A few nouns with the prefix *o* drop this prefix in plural; such are names of persons as belonging to a nation (patronymica): a Dinka man, a Shilluk man; here the plural-form may be the first, noting the nation as a collective mass, from this the singular was derived by prefixing *o,* which probably means: "he" or "one": "he a Shilluk". The opposite formation see in *rúm* pl. *órùm* nose.

8. A peculiar kind of plural-formation in nouns designating relatives is that of prefixing *ńd* in the plural; *ńd* (also *nd*) means "child"; it is low toned, but when expressing the plural, its tone rises. Examples:
dkdyò-ńdkò nephew; or: *ńdkò-ńdkò* nephew.

[The partial conformity of the plural-affixes in Shilluk and Masai is remarkable. Just as in Shilluk one of the most frequent plural suffixes is *i*, so it is also in Masai. Likewise *k*, *t* and a nasal suffix *(n)* are found in both languages. The plural-formation by dropping the final vowel *ǫ* of the singular (see 108) has also its analogy in Masai, where a final *a* or *o (ǫ?)*

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is dropped: *ol abura* plural *il abur* "froth"; *ol kurto* pl. *i kurt* "caterpillar". Hollis is probably right in supposing that in these words the plural is the original form, from which the singular was formed by adding *o* or *a*. — According to Hollis, Masai has no plural-distinction by tone. See Hollis page 18 ss.]

b) Plural-formation by change of tone. As stated above, the predomination of intonation is a characteristic of Sudan languages; but in none of these the change of tone is known to be a means of distinguishing singular and plural. In the western languages, of whom a greater number is thoroughly known, this function of the tone is sure not to exist; but it may be expected that on close investigation it will be found in other eastern Sudan languages.

By the change of tone the nouns are grouped into classes, a certain tone or group of tones in the singular always corresponding to a certain tone or group of tones in the plural. There do not seem to be very many nouns without the distinction of tone in singular and plural.[1]

This distinction is probably younger than the plural-formation by affixes. Though the intonation is no doubt genuine Sudanic, this particular employment of it, viz. the distinction of number, may be of foreign origin, a foreign element getting into the population and using the tone in quite a new way, which, until then, was not known to the primitive inhabitants. This is the more probable, as the change of tone is a process analogous to that of the change of vowel, which will be shown below. It might be supposed that both are of the same foreign origin, i. e. Hamitic. The older plural-formation by affixes seems gradually to be suppressed by the modern means, viz. change of tone and of vowel.

It is to be remarked that, as a whole, in plural the low tone is more frequent than in the singular, the low tone, together with the long vowel (see the following) conveying the notion of greatness or plurality.

c) Plural formation by change of vowel.[2] A plural-formation likewise unknown in western Sudan languages is that by changing the quantity or quality of the stem-vowel. This vowel-change is common in Semitic and Hamitic languages, and is in Shilluk probably to be traced to Hamitic influence. How far it is spread in the eastern Sudan group, cannot be stated now, but the Di. also has it. Quite of Hamitic character is the interchange of certain vowels in this way: the vowel-changes in one group are contrary to those in another group; the first group has long vowel in singular and short in plural; a second group short vowel in singular and long in plural; likewise the quality changes: one group has *o* in sing., *u* in pl.; a second group *u* in in sing., *o* in pl.; this peculiarity was first shown by Meinhof as existing in

[1] According to Kitching in Gang most nouns have the same form for singular and plural; is it not possible that a distinction is made by tone, which has not been noted?
[2] Plural-formation by change of vowel-quantity and quality is also largely used in Dinka; see Mitterrutzner page 15.

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the Hamitic languages, and has been called by him "polarity".

The same tendency of interchange is to be seen in other formations, see for instance 119: singular prefix *o*, plural no prefix, and 119: singular no prefix, plural prefix *o*.

Though this formation be probably foreign and relatively young, it may contain some primitive principle of language building: It is worth noting that the large majority of nouns have short vowel in the singular and a long one in the plural; this may lead to the supposition (which is supported by results of studies in other African languages. In Ewe for instance adjectives with long vowel and low tone designate large things or beings, the same adjectives with short vowel and high tone express small things or beings.) that in an early stage of language the long vowel is expressive of the idea of "much, big, great".

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Examples illustrating the different ways of forming the plural.

a) Plural-formation by Affixes.

1. Suffix *į*. *dhǫ̀l-dhǫ́ǫ̀ǫ̀* drum-stick *ámáɣ-ámàɣ̀ǫ̀* a stork
dɨ́ŋ̀n-dɨ́ŋ̀nį a knife *dywóm-dypòmį* monkey
dchàsɨ̀ǫ-dchɨ́sɨ̀ǫ̀ an ant *pɑ̀m-pɑ̀mį* board
ɣɐ̀rɨ̀-ɣɐ̀rɨ a bead *kàl-kɑ̀lį* fence
ɨ̀ɨ̀-ɨ́ɨ̀mį lion *lɛ̀u-lɛ̀wį* lizard.

For more examples see below.

The ending *į* has in most cases low tone; where the tone is middle, the stem-vowel too has middle tone, that is, the tone of the suffix is assimilated to that of the stem.

2. suffix *k*. *pi-pik* water *gin-gik* thing *dyɛ̀l-dyɛ̀k* goat *jal-jɑ̀k* man
lɨ̀jɨ̀ǫ-lɨ̀ɛ̀k tooth *mā-mɛ̀k* aunt *mɛn-mɛ̀k* this one.

3. suffix *ɨ*. *ɨ́ɨ́u-ɨ́ɨ̀ɨ́* buttocks *wich-wɨ́ɨ́* head *yɛ̀i-yɑ̀ɨ́* boat
yɨ̀nǫ-yɨ̀ɨ́ fisherman *yech-yɛ̀ɨ* belly *kɛu-kɔ̄ɨ́* breast
(lwǫ̀l-lɑ̀ɨ́) a gourd *(yɛ-yɛ̀ɨ́)* road.

When in a noun with a consonant plural-ending the stem also ends in a consonant, the final consonant of the stem is dropped, the consonantal suffix taking its place; see 44.

4. nasal consonant as suffix.
ɨ́ɨ̀ɨ̀-ɨ́ɨ̀ɨ̀ dura-basket *kwàch-kwàɨ́ɨ̀* leopard *àɨ̀ɨ̀dǫ̀-àɨ̀ɨ̀nɨ* breast-bone
yɨ̀ɨ́-yɨ́ɨ̀ tree *àtɨ̀bɨ̀-àtɨ̀m* tobacco *ɨ́ɨ̀bɛ̀-ɨ́ɨ̀mɨ* dish.

Vice versa: *wɑ̀nɛ̀-wɛ̀ch* paper.

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Gender.

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Gender is expressed in the noun only, not in pronouns. The natural gender may be marked in two ways:

a) by different words.

chwọu man *ḏāchọ* woman *wọṯ* bull *ḏeaṅ* cow
ówọ́k male sheep or goat *dyél* female goat.

b) by adding *óṯwòṇ* for the male, *màṯ* for the female gender.

ńù òṯwòṇ male lion *ńù màṯ* or *màṯ ńù* female lion
ṯṇ̀ṇ́ ńù male lions *màṯ́ ńù* female lions
kyèń òṯwòṇ or *kyèń à ṯwòṇ* male horse *kyèń a màṯ* or *màṯ kyèń* female horse
kyéń à ṯṇ̀ṇ male horses *kyéń à màṯ* female horses
ṯwòṇ ómórò male roan antelope, pl. *ṯṇ̀ṇ ómórò*
màṯ ómórò female roan antelope, pl. *màṯ ómórò*.

In one single word, however, the Shilluk expresses the gender by phonetic means: *ńa* child *ńal* boy *ńan* girl.

Here evidently *l* and *n* are added to the word *ńa* in order to mark its gender, *l* for the male, *n* for the female gender.

[That this case is not merely accidental, will be clear from the fact that by the same means gender is expressed in the Bari language; here it is not the nouns, but demonstrative pronouns which receive the affixes *l* and *n*:

lo this m.	*lu* that m.
na this f.	*nu* that f.
pl. *chi-lo* these m.	*chi-lu* those m.
chi-ne these f.	*chi-nu* those f.
lu-yu that one yonder m.	*chi-lu-yu* those yonder m.
nu-yu that one yonder f.	*chi-nu-yu* those yonder f.
li-o my m.	*il-ot* your m.
ni-o my f.	*in-ot* your f.

In the noun, feminine is distinguished from masculine by the suffix *et*. The same distinction by the same means has Masai.

The distinction of a grammatical gender is surely not Sudanic, it is not known in other Sudan languages; so we have doubtlessly Hamitic influence here. The Shilluks must have been in contact with (a Hamitic) people who expressed in their language the grammatical gender by *l* and *n*, but this contact was not long or strong enough, to make the distinction of gender a living factor in the language; so only a faint trace of it was left. There is one more *Sudan language*, which has a similar distinction: the Songhai (on both banks of the middle Niger). This language has, in

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the same way as Bari and Masai, a kind of article, *di* for living beings, *ni* for inanimate things. I believe that *di* is identical with *li*, *l* and *d* often changing in African languages; vide the examples in the comparative Lists of Words in Third Section. If this is right, the Songhai (in which, though, this distinction will not be original, but borrowed from some Hamitic language) represents an elder stage in the development of grammatical gender: living > masculine, inanimate > feminine or neuter (which may originally be the same, as with primitive men woman is rather a thing, a merchandise, than a person).]

A second way of distinguishing gender by phonetic means is represented in the following word:

ógwɛ́l an ox with the horns turned toward the eyes
ágwɛ́lɔ́ a cow with the horns turned toward the eyes.

Case.

Genetive.

The ruling noun is a singular.

1. The genetive follows the noun determined by it. The noun ends in a consonant; in these cases the two nouns unite without any connecting element or phonetic changes:

wɛt house;	*wɛt jɔ̄ŋɔ́* house of the chief.
loṭ club;	*loṭ obwoṅ* club of the stranger
àŋ̄ŋ̄p bag;	*aŋ̄ŋ̄p jal gni* bag of this man
okɛk blossom;	*okɛk yaṇ gni* blossom of this tree
yíṭ ear;	*yíṭ kyèṭ* ear of the horse.

There are, however, a few exceptions, chiefly if the final consonant is *k* or *ch*, and the next word begins with a consonant;

a) sometimes the "helping vowel" is inserted:

kidɛ colour;	*kíte lɔ̄jɛ* black colour
ńd̄dɛ rib;	*ńd̄te jal* rib of man
lɛch tooth;	*lɛche lyɛch* tooth of the elephant
mɛgɛ beer;	*mɛke fɔ̄te wɛn* beer of our country
bɔ̄dɛ artist.	*bɔ̄te tɛni* one who makes spears.

These are treated like nouns in the plural.

b) *ch* and *k* may be dropped:

pāch village;	*pā ríṭ* village of the king
kɛck, *kɛch* hunger;	*ku jal gni* the hunger of this man
ɟɛk cattle;	*ɟɛ ríṭ* the cattle of the king.

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c) *cẖ* softens into *y*:

mach fire; *may kwǧrǫ* "fire of cotton"; see 45.

One word changes its vowel before a genetive:

yǫ way; *yu Fakpi* the way to F.;

likewise when an adjective follows: *yu toch* a narrow way; see 22.

2. Nouns which have the final vowel ǫ, and whose second consonant is a voiced — in some cases also a voiceless — mute (*gǫ, jǫ, dǫ, ḍǫ, bǫ*), drop, when followed by a genetive, the ǫ, and turn the consonant into the corresponding nasal one: *gǫ* > *ŋ*, *jǫ* > *ń*, *dǫ* > *n*, *ḍǫ* > *ɲ*, *bǫ* > *m*; see 40.

jāgǫ chief;	*jāṅ fōṭe wɔn* the chief of our country
afoajǫ rabbit;	*afoaṅ ńal ḍɛ̄ɲ* the rabbit of the child
ṭ̄ḍǫ people;	*ṭ̄ɲ fān gwi* the people of this village
ómḍ̄ḍò a cow;	*ómḍ̄ɲ rīṭ* the cow of the king
ṭ̄ɔbǫ plate;	*ṭ̄ɔm ńan* the plate of the girl
mutǫ neck;	*mune ḍeaṅ* the neck of the cow.

This nasalization is caused by a nasal consonant, *n*, which is no doubt identical with the demonstrative *n* (vide 138), and has originally the meaning "that": *jāgǫ n pāch* "the chief, (namely) that of the village". There are some examples which show the *n* in existence at the present time: *lān* cloth, *lān ḍāchǫ* the cloth of the woman; here *n* is preserved, the *u* having dropped before it; *rīṭ* king, an older form *rūṭ*, see 16; *rūn lāboǫ* the king of the people; here the *n* is preserved, though the word ends in a consonant; this is generally not the case; it is evident that after a vowel the *n* is easily preserved, *jāgǫ n pāch* offers no difficulty in pronouncing, but in words ending in a consonant the *n* was liable to disappear, the more so, as the consonant was voiceless, and *n* is voiced; thus *ḍǫk n ṭ̄ḍǫ* > *ḍǫk ṭ̄ḍǫ*, but *jāgǫ n ṭ̄ḍǫ* > *jāṅ ṭ̄ḍǫ*. This *n* has high tone.

[This *n*, originally probably always a demonstrative pronoun and serving to express the genetive relation, exists in a great number of central and eastern Sudan languages. In Di. it effects the same changes as in Shilluk, besides it is found in Nuba, Logone, Mandara, Teda, and also in Hausa and Ful.]

The ruling noun is a plural.

If the ruling noun is a plural, the *n* does not appear, but when the noun ends in a consonant, the 'helping vowel' is suffixed to it. When the plural ends in *i*, this *i* is generally preserved. A change of tone is to be noted here: while the plural-forming *i* (see 103) and the helping vowel have low tone in those cases where no genetive follows, they receive high tone when standing before a following genetive. *This high tone most probably indicates the lost*

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genetive-forming n, the sound n itself having disappeared, but its tone (see 127) was perserved. — Examples:

pŭɔk village,	pl. *mygɛ;*	*mygɛ́ rīt*	villages of the king
wɛt house,	pl. *wɔ̀tí;*	*wɔ̀tí rīt*	houses of the king
yīt ear.	pl. *yìt;*	*yìtí kyɔ́ɔ́*	ears of the horse
mɛgɛ bear,	pl. *mɛ̀kí;*	*mɛ̀kí fōtɛ wɔn*	bears of our country
ɔkɛ̀t blossom,	pl. *ɔ̀kɛ̀k;*	*ɔ̀kɛ̀kí yɛ́t*	the blossoms of the tree
aŋɛ́p bag,	pl. *àŋɛ̀p;*	*àŋɛ̀pé ŋate wɛ̄lɛ*	the bags of the traveller
kɛ̀ɔ̀k hunger,	pl. *kɛ̀ɔ́í;*	*kɛ̀ɔ́í fōtɛ wɔn*	the famines of our country
jɔ̄gɔ̀ chief,	pl. *jɔ̄k;*	*jūkí fōtɛ wɔn*	the chiefs of our country.

In my materials I find one exception to this rule: *gwɔ̀k-gúɔ̀k* dog; *gúɔ̀kɛ̀ jal gwi* the dogs of this man; but this may be a misunderstanding.

The Objective Case.

The direct object or accusative follows the verb: *á chàm byɛ́l* he ate dura. Sometimes the particle *kí* "with" is added: *á chàm kí byɛ́l* he ate (with) dura.

But when *kí* "and" begins a sentence, the object always precedes the verb: *kí byɛ́l chām* and dura ate (he).

What in European languages is an indirect or dative object, the Shilluk transforms into a direct object, and what we would call the direct object, is in this case always introduced by *kí;* instead of saying: "he gave money to the child", they say: "he presented the child with money": *a wēkí ŋal kí ŋygí.*

But in very many, probably in most cases the direct and indirect object are not expressed at all, the passive voice being used instead, "I saw him" is expressed by "he was seen by me"; "he gave the child milk" by "the child was given milk by him". — On the passive voice see 173.

The Vocative Case

is formed by lengthening the (last) vowel, by raising the tone, and sometimes by adding *í* "you": *ŋàtɔ̀* man, *ŋàtɔ́* o man! *Dāk* a proper name, *Dágí* o Dak!

THE PRONOUN.

The Personal Pronoun.

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Connected Form, standing before the verb.

This form is generally used as the subject of verbs.

yɛ́ I	*yí* thou	*yɛ́, ɛ́ (ɔ́)*	he
wɛ́, wɛ̨́ we	*wɛ́* you	*gɛ́*	they.

The forms are often pronounced with a short vowel. *yɛ̨́* and *ɛ́* (sometimes *é*), likewise *wɛ́* and *wɛ̨́*, are used promiscuously, but *ɛ́*, apparently the younger

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form, is employed more frequently than *yɛ́*; *ò* is seldom used; in the 3rd person *gò* also occurs, but it is very rare as a subject. Note that *ò* and *gò* have a low tone, but all other personal pronouns have a high tone.

[It is at least remarkable that in two West African Sudan languages the personal pronouns of the 3rd pers. sing. are the same as in Shilluk: Ewe *é* and *wò*, Twi *e* and *o* (In Ewe even the tones are equal to those in Shi.); Ewe makes some distinction in the use of *é* and *wò*, while in Shi. they seem to be employed at will. Gang too has *e* and *o*, apparently without making any distinction between the two.

On the *form of the pronoun* note the following remarks:

The corresponding forms for the singular and the plural seem to have originally the same vowels, only *yí* and *wú* being different. But besides *yí*, *yú* also occurs, and in Nuer the possessive pron. of the 2nd pers. sing. is *du* (*d* is prefixed), so it seems probable that the original vowel was *u*, which was assimilated by the palatal semivowel y and thus became *i*. This palatalization must, however, have taken place at an early period, as neighbouring languages — with the exception just stated — have *i* and *yi* for the 2nd pers. sing. So we get as primitive vowels of the personal pronoun: *á*, *ú*, *ɛ́*, which were differentiated into singular and plural by certain prefixes.

a) Singular.

In all three persons the pronoun begins with y, but the 3rd person has a third form, which is not mentioned above: *ɣɛ́n* (*n* marks the absolute form, see 132, so the form is properly *ɣɛ́*); *ɣɛ́* I regard as the older form of *yɛ́* (on the change between y and *ɣ* see 35); in Dinka and Nuer the pronoun of the first person is *ɣa*, which is likewise the older form for Shilluk *ya*; from this it is probable that the 2nd person also originally began with *ɣ*, though, as far as I can see, it is nowhere retained. Thus we get these (hypothetical) primitive forms: *ɣa*, *ɣu*, *ɣɛ*; *a*, *u*, *ɛ* designating the persons, and *ɣ* the singular.

b) Plural.

In plural all persons begin with *w* except *gɛ́*. What is the origin of this *g*? In Nuer the 1st pers. is *kó*, the third *kɛ́n* and *kyɛ́n*, in Dinka *kɛ* (probably *kɛ*); *kó* is evidently contracted from *kwa*, see 22; analogous to this *kyɛ́* may be derived from *kwɛ* (*kwɛ* > *kyɛ* see 32), and the 2nd person, *wú*, would be originally *kwu*, but, as in the singular, here the hypothetical form seems nowhere preserved. So the primitive forms of the plural would be: *kwa*, *kwu*, *kwɛ*; *a*, *u*, *ɛ* again designating the persons and *kw* the plural. (As for the prefixing of *k* note that in Dinka the personal

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pronouns in the absolute form suffix a *kl*). — The evolution of *gɛ* in Shi. would then be thus: *kwɛ* > *kyɛ* > *kɛ* > *gɛ*. While in the first and second person the *k* before *w* was dropped (see 46), in the 3rd pers. *kɛ* turned into *gɛ*. The changing of a voiceless into a voiced consonant is not so uncommon in the Eastern Sudan languages, see 42; here the process was facilitated by *gɛ* being a much used word, whose pronunciation may easily be slighted. — Hence perhaps *gɔ̀* "he" may also be explained. It may be formed from the primitive pronoun *ɔ* "he", by prefixing to it, in analogy with *gɛ́*, a *g*, and to make the analogy perfect, the vowel *ɔ* was also pronounced wide, that is *ɔ̀*, in accordance with the *ɛ* in *gɛ́*. This is, indeed, a mere hypothesis, but it is supported by the fact that *gɔ̀* and *ɔ* both have low tone, while all other personal pronouns have high tone.]

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Absolute Form.

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yán I, me	*yín* thou, thee	*ɛ́n, ɣɛ́n* he, him	*gɔ̀* he, him
wán, wɔ́n we, us	*wín* you	*gɛ́n* they, them.	

These differ from the connected form only by a suffixed *n*; *ɛ́n* and *ɣɛ́n* are used promiscuously; *gɔ̀n* occurs frequently as objective, but seldom as subjective pronoun. The suffixed *n* may be identical with the deictic *n* mentioned in 127 et passim; so that *yán* really means: "it is I".

These absolute or separable pronouns do not stand immediately before a verb, they are used when the person is to be emphasized. They are employed as subjective and objective alike. When they emphasize the subject, the connected form of the pronoun has to follow them: *yán yâ chàm* (it was) I (that) ate.

The absolute pronouns may again be emphasized by adding *á*: *yáná, yínà, ɛ́ná*. This has the meaning of "it is", and is often used in addresses: *ɛ́ná Páchɔ̂dɔ̀* that is Fashoda; *yínà jwɔ̀k* "thou art God" "o God".

If a personal pronoun in the singular is connected with another pronoun or noun, the plural form is always used instead of the singular: *wɔ́ kì yin* I and you; *wí kì mɛ́n* you (sing.) with whom?

Objective Form.

It is suffixed to the verb. Example: stem *chwɔ̀l* to call.

Common form.	With more emphasis.
á chwɔ̀là he called me	*á chwɔ̀là yán* or *yánà*
á chwɔ̀lì he called thee	*á chwɔ̀là yín* or *yínà*
á chwɔ̀lɛ̀ he called him	*á chwɔ̀là ɛ́n* or *ɛ́nà*
á chwɔ̀lì wɔ́n he called us	*á chwɔ̀là wɔ́n* or *wɔ́nà*
á chwɔ̀lì wín he called you	*á chwɔ̀là wín* or *wínà*
á chwɔ̀lì gɛ́n he called them	*á chwɔ̀là gɛ́n* or *gɛ́nà*.

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*193 The first *á* is the sign of the past; in the second form the final *a* of the verb marks the verb as being followed by an object.

Note the change of the tone in the objective form. *The objective form has low tone, whereas the subjective form has high tone.*[1]

Possessive Form.[2]

This form is also always suffixed. Example *wǫ̀t* house pl. *wǫ̀tį́*.

wǫ̀dà my house	*wǫ̀dì* thy house	*wǫ̀dɛ́* his house
wǫ̀t wǫ́n our house	*wǫ̀t wún* your house	*wǫ̀t gɛ́n* their house
wǫ̀tá my houses	*wǫ̀tí* thy houses	*wǫ̀tɛ́* his houses
wǫ̀tį́ wǫ́n our houses	*wǫ̀tį́ wún* your houses	*wǫ̀tį́ gɛ́n* their houses.

gwòk pl. *gúòk* dog.

gwògà my dog	*gwògì* thy dog	*gwògɛ́* his dog
gwòk wǫ́n our dog	*gwòk wún* your dog	*gwòk gɛ́n* their dog
gúókà my dogs	*gúókì* thy dogs	*gúókɛ́* his dogs
gúóké wǫ́n our dogs	*gúóké wún* your dogs	*gúóké gɛ́n* their dogs.

If the final consonant of the noun is a liquid or nasal, the *w* in *wǫn* and *wun* is often ommitted: *kal ūn* your fence; *tygń un* your people.

If both the possessor and the thing possessed are a singular, the possessive pronoun has a middle tone, if either of them or both are a plural, the poss. pr. has a high tone.

In the connection of noun and pronoun the rule given in 40 is to be observed, as these examples show:

jâgẹ̀ chief, *jàńà* my chief *afoajǫ* rabbit, *afoaǹà* my rabbit
but in pl.: *jâk* chiefs, *jāká* my chiefs *afoachį* rabbits, *afoachá* my rabbits.

If the final vowel of the noun is *u*, it turns into *w*; if *u* is the sole stem-vowel, a *w* is inserted: *fyóu* heart, *fyówà* my heart; *ńù* lion, *ńuwa* my lion.

In some few cases the possessive pronoun is prefixed by *r*: *ra* my, *ri* thy etc. Before this *r* the final consonant of the noun drops:

ńal boy *ńāra* my boy *pach* village *pāra* my village, etc.

This *r* is a shortened form of *ré* "body, self."

As the intonation shows certain irregularities in the connection of nouns with possessive pronouns, some more examples may be given.

ówɛ̂ɛ̀t mat	pl. *ówɛ̀ɛ̀t;*	*ówɛ̂ɛ̀dà* my mat;	*ówɛ̀ɛ̀tá* my mats
yíɛ̀ ear	pl. *yìɛ̀;*	*yíɛ̀dà* my ear;	*yìɛ̀tá* my ears
kòɛ̀ rain	pl. *koɛ̀i;*	*kǫ̀ɛ̀a* my raining;	*kóɛ̀á* my rainings
lyɛ̀ch elephant	pl. *líéch;*	*lyɛ̀ɛ̀já* my eleph.;	*líèchá* my elephants
àɛ̀ɛ̀p bag	pl. *àɛ̀ɛ̀p;*	*àɛ̀ɛ̂bá* my bag;	*aɛ̀ɛ̀pá* my bags
kwǫ̀m chair	pl. *kúǫ̀mì;*	*kwǫ̀mà* my chair;	*kúǫ̀má* my chairs
rɛ̀ɛ̀jǫ fish	pl. *réch;*	*rɛ̀ɛ̀á* my fish;	*réchá* my fishes.

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[1] In Ewe *e*, the pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. has high tone, when subjective, but low tone, when objective; the same is the case in Yoruba: *ó* he, *ò* him; see Crowther page (4) and (8).
[2] The suffixed subjective form see 160.

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*193 802 The numeral follows the noun: *wǫ́t áryȧ̀u* two houses; often *ga* "copy" is inserted between both: *chàn̈ gá pyārǫ* ten days.

Ordinal Numbers.

They are rarely used. In forming them the prefix *á* is dropped and the simple stem is used, with the exception of "the first", which is formed from *mal* "above".

àmálǫ the first	*ryȧ̀u* the second	*dȧ̀k, dẹ̀k* the third
n̈wǫ̀n the fourth	*bích* the fifth	*pyārǫ* the tenth.

THE VERB.

*193 The *stem of the verb* is uniform. It always consists in a consonant, a vowel, and a consonant, or a consonant, a semivowel, a vowel, and a consonant. But the sounds of the stem may undergo certain changes, on which see 187.

Conjugation of the Verb.

The verb has two principal modes or tenses:

1. The Present Tense. This denotes an action as going on, as being done just now, as one not yet finished. This action may be going on in the present as well as in the past or future; the emphasis does *not* lie *on the time,* but on the fact that the action is *not finished,* but is being done, it "has not become", but "is becoming".

   Generally the Present in Shilluk corresponds to the English Present, but it may also describe the Past or the Future: "I am going", "I was going", "I shall be going".

2. The Perfect denotes the action as complete, it describes that which "has become", a state, an accomplished fact. While the Present means: "he is going" the Perfect is: "he is gone", "he is away".

*193 197 [These same two tenses with exactly the same meanings are found in the Semitic languages, they are there called Imperfect and Perfect. I have retained the name "Present" because it is introduced already, and a new term might lead to confusion. In these two forms there is another conformity between Shilluk and Semitic languages: in Hebrew the verb in the Imperfect (= Shilluk Present) is always preceded by the subject, in the Perfect the subjective pronoun follows the verb; in Shilluk the verb

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in the Present (= Hebrew Imperfect) is preceded by the subject, in the Perfect the subjective pronoun or noun may precede *or follow* the verb. In Nama (Hottentott) and Fulfulde, two Hamitic languages, the subject may also precede *or* follow the verb.] 193* [197]

Besides these two the verb has the following modes:

3. The Future;
4. The Habitual; it denotes action which is done repeatedly, usually, habitually, either in the Present or in the Past.
5. The Imperative.
6. The Verbal Noun; is a real noun, corresponding to the English "going", "eating".
7. The Noun Agent; denotes the doer of the action expressed in the verb. There are two forms, one for expressing an occasional, and the other the habitual doer.
8. The Passive Voice.

Examples showing the conjugation of the verb.

The Verb without an Object.

Stem: *cham* to eat.

Present.

yâ chàmò I am eating	*yí chàmò* you (s.) are eating
é (yé) chàmò he is eating	*wâ chàmò* we are eating
wú chàmò you are eating	*gé chàmò* they are eating.

The verb in the present always ends in *o*; this *o* is sounded very faintly, see 2.

Nearly all verbs have in the present exactly the same form: the first vowel is long, and both syllables have a low tone. There are only a few exceptions to this rule, viz.

a) the first vowel may be short; in this case the vowel is often high: *kɛ́dò* to go; but at the same time: *kàdò* to go; *ryèrò* to come forth.

b) the first vowel, being long, may have the falling tone; in connection with it the second vowel has sometimes middle, but generally low, tone: *gwầnò* to dig, *gɔ̂lò* to be vexed. As this is the form and intonation of the infinitive (see 170) these "present forms" may properly be infinitives, these having taken the place of the low-toned present tense.

In most cases the second consonant, if mute, is voiced.

A second form of the present tense is formed by putting *dè* between the subject and the verb:

yâ dè chàmò I am (or was) engaged in eating, I have been eating.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*193 { *t̄ę̄dǫ* to bewitch perf. *tyét* pe. *tyét*
tyę̄dǫ to bewitch.

Double forms in which the derivation of the second verb from a tense or mode of the first is not visible, both verbs retaining their vowel or semivowel unchanged through all tenses or modes. The meanings of the two verbs are identical:

bō̱dǫ and *bwō̱dǫ* to cast iron
kōdǫ and *kwōdǫ* to blow up fire
fę̄jǫ and *fyęjǫ* to pull.

The function of the inserted semivowels *w* and *y* are evident from the preceding examples: they serve in forming certain tenses or modes of the verb, and from these modes and tenses new verbs are formed, just as in the changing of the last consonant.

In by far the most cases the infixed *w* (which must originally have been *u*, see 22) forms the Passive and the Perfect of the Verb.

[It is remarkable that in Hamitic languages *u* or *o* have the same function:

Haussa:	*fashe*	to break	*fasu*	broken
	būde	to open	*būdu*	open
	buga	to beat	*bugu*	beaten
Ful Fulde:	*omo nana*	he hears	*omo nanǫ*	he is heard
	omo wara	he kills	*omo warǫ*	he is killed.

In both these languages the forms in *u*, ǫ correspond to the Shilluk Passive as well as to the Perfect, as they express an accomplished state, as opposed to action.]

It is evident that this last process was chiefly liable to lead to many confusions in the use of *w* and *y (and the same holds good for the changing of the second consonant)*; once the second verbs, derived from the imperfect or passive of the first verb, came into use, it was scarcely avoidable that the semivowel should not enter the present or any other tense of the first verb, where it did not belong; and again it was easily liable to be dropped where it ought to stand, viz. in a form of the second verb; this was the more possible, as in almost all cases the meanings of the two verbs are absolutely identical. And indeed the natives often do confuse the two verbs, using the one for the other, when asked for the different forms of a verb.

How the semivowel was infixed into the verb, is not clear (but see 25); as they do not always have the same function, the way on which they got into the word may also have been different.

Now it is remarkable, that in all cases, where the *passive or past are formed by infixing w or y* (active present *kō̱bǫ* passive *kwǫ́p*, active present *fę̄chǫ* passive

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which largely concern social structure and kinship systems, are to be published later. In this article I have attempted to set down the evidence, often conflicting, concerning the secular and legal functions of the *reth* or king and, since these are relevant, the Shilluk laws of homicide. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out 'if we are to understand the place of the kingship in Shilluk society we must, I think, beware of attempts to define it in terms of judicial and administrative functions and view it rather as a ritual office and in a wider political context'.[1] There are in fact two opposing views. On the one hand are those who consider that the *reth* was the head of a highly-organized administration with a hierarchy of appointed chiefs; that he had absolute powers of adjudication and execution; that he exacted tribute from his people; that he imposed fines upon them for offences against the State. On the other hand are those who hold the opinion that the *reth* had no extensive secular functions of a political or administrative nature, but only a supreme ritual function to perform as the central symbol of the moral and natural order. That the political homogeneity of the Shilluk and the national characteristics of their political structure are maintained by the institution of the *reth* is not to be denied. An analysis of Shilluk political structure, of the segments themselves and of their latent opposition, reveals many forms which closely resemble similar segments in Nuer and Dinka society. The existence of the *reth* gives meaning and co-ordination to the segments of Shilluk society which would otherwise lack political cohesion. But how far are we justified in assuming that the *reth* was an autocratic ruler who intervened in everyday affairs and imposed his authority on his people?

Characteristics of Shilluk Society

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from Tonga to approximately Lat. 11° N. They are clearly of the same basic stock as the Nuer and Dinka, but have closer affinities with the peoples classified as Shilluk-speaking, i.e. the Anuak, who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Ethiopia, the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, Jaluo,[2] who live as far south as the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria, and small groups living in the area of the upper waters of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their mythology suggests a common origin and their language is closely allied.

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south through the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang, their culture hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and subsequently mixed with the original inhabitants (about whom we know little except that they were probably not a Nilotic people) and extended their territory by raids and infiltration considerably farther north than their present boundaries. Tradition, supported by tribes other than the Shilluk and by Arab tribes living farther north, indicates that Shilluk country once extended as far north as Khartoum.

The Shilluk are now a sedentary people and have nothing approaching the large-scale dry-season migration of the Dinka and Nuer in search of green pasture. Their permanent villages, built on the high ground close to the Nile, are occupied all the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 13.

[2] See, for example, Driberg, *The Lango*; Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, no. vii.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *C H* is represented by *C*; words like Fashoda which are familiar in that form are left unaltered.

There is a Shilluk consonant *ny* pronounced as in the French *ligne*. This has been written *n̈y* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *ñ*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Golbañ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Golbany* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.E.C.P.)

CHAPTER I.

Outline of Shilluk History.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Collo*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Collo* is *Ocolo*, a word obviously connected with Acholi, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar.

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of Okwa, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." Okwa was succeeded by a brother of Nyikang, Duwadh, and Nyikang himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near Wau on the Bahr el Ghazal called by the Shilluk *Pothe Thuro*. Here he married a daughter of Dimo, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then Nyikang

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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THE DEATH OF A RETH OF THE SHILLUK AND THE INSTALLATION OF HIS SUCCESSOR

By P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson

INTRODUCTORY

(P.P.H.)

The Shilluk are a Nilotic tribe who occupy a narrow strip of country mainly along the west bank of the Nile from about Lake No to about Lat. 12° N. They are of the same stock as the Nuer and Dinka tribes who border them to the south and east, but they are more closely related in language, culture and in their mythology to the Anuak,[1] who live along the Baro and Pibor rivers on the frontier of the Sudan and Abyssinia, to the Acholi, Lango, Alur, Jopadola, and the Shilluk-speaking Kavirondo or Jaluo who live as far south as the north-eastern banks of Lake Victoria. Other smaller and more scattered tribes live up the Bahr el Ghazal These tribes have been classified as the Shilluk-speaking group, though there is now little contact between them. Their mythology suggests a common origin and certainly their language is closely allied. The name Shilluk is probably an Arabic version of the word Colo, which is what the Shilluk call themselves

According to tradition the Shilluk migrated from the south via the Bahr el Ghazal into their present country under the leadership of Nyikang who is their tribal hero and the founder of the present dynasty of Shilluk kings. They conquered and mixed with the original inhabitants, who were probably not a Nilotic people at all, and extended their country by raids and infiltration a good deal north of their present boundaries. Tradition, confirmed by tribes other than the Shilluk and by the Arabs who live north of them, states

1. See Evans-Pritchard "The political system of the Anuak" (Monographs on social anthropology No. 4) 1940.

[p. 5]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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832 of mud, assume enormous proportions, becoming rather like
302 the wide ears of an elephant. When they become too cumbersome he tires of them and has them cut off; he may then adopt another style, but as a rule the fires of youth have by this died down and he is content to leave his hair in its natural state.

302 Other highly esteemed hair-styles are the 'Cherry Pie', when the hair all over the head is moulded tightly into little red balls; the 'Cock's Comb' extending in a raised ridge from the crown of the head to the forehead while the rest is shaven, and the 'Hat Brush'. One day my houseboy appeared before my startled eyes with his head clean shaven save for a long elliptical patch of hair which he had dyed (with, I suspected, the Sisters' laundry blue) a brilliant blue colour. Again, a brave will sometimes scorn all such fripperies, and shave his head completely, polish it with oil and bind a string of flat blue beads around his forehead, achieving the effect of a decorated chocolate Easter egg.

562 As is usual in the East it is the male who wears the fine plumage while the female is subdued, if not indeed drab, in her colouring. A Shilluk girl makes no attempt to imitate the gorgeous decoration of her brother; her dirty grey cloth
[291] she may hem with an embroidered pattern in beads, and she
[531] may bedeck also with coloured beads the little apron she wears around her waist, but apart from a string of beads
[301] around her neck or arm and an iron or copper bangle, that is the only finery she will allow herself. She rarely paints
[302] her face or dresses her hair. On the occasion of a dance
[292] she will change her everyday cloth for a blue one or a mantle of deer skin, anoint her shaven head with oil and trick herself out with a few more beads, and having gone as far as fashion allows will rely upon personal charm to win her admirers.

174 The origins of the Shilluk people are not known with any
[197] degree of certainty. It would seem from their affinity, especially in language, with the Jur tribe of the Southern Sudan and with the Luo of the Bahr-el-Gazal and Kenya

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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that they once formed part of a great tribe which had its home in the district north-east of the Great Lakes of Uganda. This theory is supported by their tribal lore which says that long ago (the time is computed to be about the second half of the sixteenth century) their people came from far away, a locality indicated by a vague wave of the arm in the general direction of Uganda, and moved up into the Sudan. They did not take the direct line of the Nile as their route because of the vast swamps which lie between the southernmost part of the Sudan and the present Shilluk country, but turned north-west and made their first settlement in the region now known as the Bahr-el-Gazal. Of their leaders two are especially remembered: Nyikang and his nephew, Dimo. Nyikang seems to have been a mild and peace-loving gentleman, and Dimo truculent and quarrelsome. Tired of constant bickering, Nyikang gathered a few followers and, leaving Dimo in undisputed possession of the territory they then had, he followed the course of the Bahr-el-Gazal until, having left the great swamps behind him, he moved into the region of the present Shilluk country. He little thought that in leaving the fertile land of the Bahr-el-Gazal to seek peace for himself and his followers, he was not leading them into that plenty which is so often the handmaid of peace, but was condemning them and their descendants to hardship and want, to disease and hunger. Yet that is what happened. Weary of being constantly halted by the swamps, he seized upon the first sizeable stretch of country north of the swamp area, and there the migration came to rest. Tradition says that when he arrived at the entrance to this Promised Land, Nyikang lay down gratefully in the shade of a tree and uttered a fervent thanks to God; this incident has given its name to a village founded on that historic spot; Papwojo, the Village of Thanksgiving.

The travellers soon found that their new home was no land flowing with milk and honey; it was hard and inhospitable, scorched in the dry season and flooded in the wet, scarcely able to provide a living for man and beast, yet with it they had to be content, for further progress was barred to them.